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# How Our World Is Changing



THE BOILING-FROG THESIS holds that if you drop a frog in a not of boiling water, it will leap out, but if you put it in cool water and slowly turn up the heat, it will

blithely get cooked. If there's a thesis to our annual to Ideas issue, it is that things are changing in fundamental ways, but the changes are gradual enough-and enveloping enough-that we're not always aware of them. I'm not suggesting we're all getting cooked; some of these changes are definitely for the better. Some examples: More of us than ever are living alone, but that isn't making us more lonely. More Americans than ever say they have no religious affiliation, but spirituality in some ways is on the rise. Sociologists used to worry about the psychological burden of low status; now it turns out that high-status people have their own stress. In many ways, we've ceded so much of our privacy, we're not aware that we have lost some of it in public too. These are some of the paradoxes of modern life that are explained inside.

This issue also contains stunning pictures from the civil war in Syria. They are by Italian photographer Alessio Romenzi. who has been there on assignment for TIME. He has risked his life over and over again bearing witness to civilian casualties in the cities of Homs and al-Osair. He managed to safely cross the border into Lebanon in late February.

Make sure you also read Jon Meacham's essay on Rick Santorum's interpretation of John F. Kennedy's 1960 speech on church and state. I've always thought the question is not whether there should be a wall between church and state (the phrase comes from a letter of Thomas Jefferson's and appears nowhere in the Constitution) but what is the proper role of faith in how an elected leader makes decisions.

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

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# THE CONVERSATION 'Is this the group that's really going to pick the next President?

CNN's Soledad O'Brien sounded a bit skeptical when she questioned Michael Scherer about his March 5 cover story, "Why Latino Voters Will Swing the 2012 Election." But MSNBC's Melissa Harris-Perry had no such doubts: "I imagine [GOP candidates] will be digging deep into their Spanish-language dictionaries when they get a glance at this week's TIME." The cover was widely discussed among Latino bloggers and socialmedia users, some of whom were disappointed that it did not feature any Afro-Latinos, but most of whom saluted TIME for its first cover line in Spanish, Yo Decido, Meanwhile, Politico. ABC News and other campaign watchers were intrigued by Mark Halperin's "10 Things Mitt Romney Has to Do Now" on thepage.time.com. (Sample entry: "Stop saying 'sport.") Brandon Hartzell, a North Carolina pastor, retweeted the list, adding, "I think he's right on all 10."



# On TIME.com

Our cover nackage Includes thought. provoking pieces by TIME Ideas columnists Annie Murphy Paul. Touré and Judith Warns The opinion site, which has logged millions of page views since its October debut, launches lively debates every day on such topics as why China's rise is great for the U.S. and whether the Supreme Court should kill affirmative action. To weigh in, go to ideas, time.com or follow @TIMEIdeas on Twitter.



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Latino Voters

Jorge Ramos does not sneak for a monolithic Latino bloc f"Why Neither Party Speaks Our Language Yet," March 51.

Latinos have vastly different politics, cultures and backgrounds. I disagree with almost everything Ramos said. Illegal immigrants have no rights for good reason. Only legal residents have rights.

A. Truiillo Escareño, TUSTIN, CALIF.

# Santorum's Family Values

Re "Rick Santorum's Inconvenient Truths" by Joe Klein [March 5]: It's easy to be sanctimonious when one can afford nannies and nurses to care for a child with a disability. The rest of us have to be practical: Who will care for this special child? How will we pay medical bills? What about the needs of other children in the family? Klein and the Santorums should get out and see the real world. Martha Pratt, WEST BATH, MAINE

In Santorum's world, government has no right to save a failing financial industry but every right to insert religion into public policy. Our Founding Fathers knew the essential need for the separation of church and state. Santorum doesn't get it. Ed O'Donnell, MARBLE HILL, GA.

# Unwed Mothers

I found myself in rare agreement with Rich Lowry regarding the trend in out-ofwedlock births [March 5]. But his salient points were undermined by his snide closing comments on Michelle Obama's efforts to combat childhood obesity. He wants her to take up marriage as a cause, but he didn't have to say that doing so could have a "more meaningful impact on the lives of children than she will ever have urging them to do jumping jacks." John N. Kelly, MILLINOCKET, MAINE

### SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

- ⇒ We misquoted a British colloquialism uttered by the singer Adele, in Briefing [Feb. 27]. As she accepted a Grammy, we misheard her as saying, "Mom, gold is good!" In fact, as our British readers have advised us, she said, "Mum, girl done good!"
- ⇒ Our Oscar predictions misstated the animation techniques used in Rangol"And the Winner Is ... Feb. 27l. The film was made with computergenerated imagery, not CGI with motion canture.
- ⇒ We misspelled the name of an African American inventor cited by Kareem Abdul-Jabbar in 10 Questions [Feb. 27]. He was Lewis Latimer.



LIGHTROX

# Happy 80th, Johnny

To mark what would have been Johnny Cash's 80th birthday on Feb. 26, TIME's photo blog featured several previously unpublished images of the Man in Black, courtesy of Legacy Recordings, which is launching a yearlong series of tributes to the singer. The striking photos—like this one at Cash's California home, taken in 1060 by Columbia Records photographer Don Hunstein-were a hit with readers, "Crying, from Norway," Wrote Jan Helge Lien on TIME.com, and Chad Hamlett reminded fellow music lovers that "legends never die!" For other rare images of Cash, go to lightbox.time.com.

Beats eating GMO. Reduce animal slaughter. Solves world hunger. Looks

SOCIAL MEDIA Man-Made Meat

A TIME.com piece on the world's first lab-grown burger, to be served in 2012, got our Google+ followers so riled up that they maxed out the site's 500-comment limit, with many answering our question. Would you eat test-tube meat?

comes in a nice package with the right

marketing.

Comments, clockwise from left: Brontae Hunter, Miss M, Gian Robinson, Phil DiNuzzo

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# **GAME CHANGE**



SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 9PM



VERY OTHER JANUARY, 10,000 salon professionals and industry leaders head to Las Vegas' Mandalay Bay Resort and Casino for the top event in the hair-care industry—the Redlens Symposium. Al lavish three-day mix of multimedia education and entertainment, the Symposium aims to help attendees—in its host's words—flearn better, earn better and live better."

Redient, the leader in salon hair-care products, uses the event to

teach the latest styles and techniques, introduce new products and celebrate the best in hair care. The event, which convenes again next January, features classes in hair cutting, styling and coloring, plus extravagantly produced shows with galaxies of well-cofied models and danoers, artful videos and big-name recording artists like Ferglie or Margon 5.

Equally important, attendees get advice on making their businesses more profitable. "We do all these things to enhance the salon professional's craft and make sure their customers have a good experience with our products," says Karen Fuss-Zipp, U.S. vice president and general manager of Redken and its sister brand, Purcology, both part of the UCPdai professional products division.

To the outsider, hair care might look like a static product category, with few real changes from year to year. In fact, as can be seen at Redekn, hair-care products changes frequently to keep up with fashion trends and technology. Actress Paula Kent and her hairdresse, Therif Redding, founded the company 51 years ago after Kent lost patience with the damaging effects of frequent hair treatments in preparation for her TV commerciales.

Redken sees its Job as translating fashion trends into complementary hairstyles and then inventing the products best suited to create them. "If the new look was going to be, say, ponytalis," says Fuss-Zipp, "we'd invent new products with properties that support the very best ponytails possible."

### TOP DESTINATION

Even in years when there is no Symposium, Redken hosts numerous smaller gatherings, including its Artist Connection, an annual conference of about 1,000 Redken "artists" who visit salons throughout the U.S. and abroad, teaching the latest styles and techniques.

The company stages most of these smaller meetings in Las Vegas, which has been North America's top trade show destination for 17 straight years, with more than 19,000 meetings, conventions and incentive programs annually. Las Vegas hosts the largest share? North America's 250 largest trade shows, more than its next two competitors, Orlando and Chicago, combined.

Why is Redden so loval to Las Vegas?

For one thing, says Fuss-Zipp, Las Vegas has the space to host gatherings of almost any size. The city offers an unrivaled 10.5 million square feet of exhibition space, including the Las Vegas Convention Center, which, at 2.3 million square feet, is among the largest

convention centers in the country. The city offers more than 150,000 hotel rooms, ranging from budget to five-star luxury. A recent Hotels.com survey found Las Vegas to have the most affordable hotels of any major destination. Equally important, the city offers top restaurants, shows, casinos and a wide array of other amenities that create a powerful draw. To top it all off, McCarran international Airport makes Las Vegas an easy destination to get to, offering more than 900 daily flights and nonstop service to 130 cities.

Las Vegas makes things easy in other ways as well, lending its expertise in all phases of event planning and logistics in support of Redken's own in-depth planning staff. The Redken Symposium uses dozens of beautiful models, most of them hired locally. The exhibition space requires the temporary installation of scores of sinks along with the augmented power to handle hundreds of hair dryers blowing simultaneously. And then there's the logistical challenge of moving 10,000 people in and out of different classrooms without creating traffic jams. In Las Vegas. says an admiring Fuss-Zipp, "They just know how to do things." O

# SOME SAY THEIR BEST IDEAS COME TO THEM IN THE SHOWER.

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# **Briefing**

# 'We didn't win by a lot, but we won by enough.'

 MITT ROMNEY, after his victory in the Feb. 28 Republican primary in his home state of Michigan; Romney also won the Arizona primary that day

# 'If you haven't hugged or kissed your kid in the last couple of days, take that time.'

2. JOE BERGANT, school superintendent in Chardon, Ohio, where a shooting at Chardon High School left three students dead and two others wounded

# 'I will not be able to continue at the same rhythm.'

3. HUGO CHAYEZ, Venezuelan President, after doctors discovered a cancerous pelvic lesion, which was later removed; Chávez's health troubles—he has undergone chemotherapy and several surgeries—have called into question his plan to stand for re-election in October

# 'You're only two years older than me, darling.'

4. CHRISTOPHER PLUMMER, addressing his Oscar statuette after the 82-year-old was awarded the Best Supporting Actor trophy on Feb. 26; he is the oldest person to win an Oscar

# 'Only in politics do people root for bad news.'

5. PRESIDENT OBAMA, responding to GOP critics who have blamed the Administration's energy policies for soaring gas prices





36

Number of hours the Daytona 500 spanned because of rain and a fiery crash, making it the first NASCAR race to air on prime-time TV

# 62 miles

Length of a structure discovered in Mongolia that is believed to be part of the Great Wall of China



# \$13,800

Price fetched for a jersey worn by Jeremy Lin during the one game he played with the Erie BayHawks of the NBA Development League

**16%** 

2006 to 2009 in the number of Americans who went to the ER for routine dental problems because of a shortage in dentists who will treat Medicaid patients





# World





A boy watches an anary protest in Kabul from the inside of a bakery

# A Nation Aflame

1 | AFGHANISTAN News that copies of the Koran had been burned while being disposed of by soldiers at the U.S. air base at Bagram triggered days of nationwide unrest. One U.S. military official said the Korans, which came from the library of the base detainee center, were suspected of having been used to communicate secret messages among Taliban inmates. The rushed apologies from NATO officials and U.S. President Barack Obama did little to assuage Afghan outrage. More than a week of violent protests and riots led to the deaths of nearly 40 people. In one incident, a suicide bomber drove an explosive-laden vehicle into the gate of a NATO base near Jalalabad, killing nine. The Taliban claimed responsibility for the attack, seeking to capitalize on public anger over the burnings. Western officials working in Afghan ministries were pulled out after a rogue Afghan soldier shot to death two U.S. advisers at the Interior Ministry, bringing the number of American soldiers killed since the unrest began to four. The protests tapped into deep-seated frustrations felt by many Afghans, who have little affection for the forces occupying their country and propping up the weak, largely corrupt government in Kabul.



### FRANCE

Tax rate for Incomes greater than 1 million euros (\$1.3 million) proposed by Socialist François Hollande, the leading opposition candidate in France's upcoming presidential elections

# **Nukes or Butter?**

2 INORTH KOREA After two days of talks in Beijing with North Korean officials, the U.S. State Department announced that the country, whose new leader is Kim Jong Un, had agreed to suspend its uranium-enrichment program and nuclear weepons tests in exchange for food aid. North Koreals chronically short of food and prone to famine. The deal could presage resumption of broader six party talks among the U.S., North Korea and other regional powers over possible North Korean disarmament and other measures that could calm tensions along the Cold War's last fronting.

# SLOVAKI

'We will seek that the name is accepted by the public.'





# Drama Down Under 3 | AUSTRALIA The nation's ruling

Labor Party was

convulsed by political inflighting between the camps of ex-Prime Minister Kevin Rudd and current P.M. Julia Gillard, In an Internal Labor Party caucus. Gillard held on to her position and triumphed over Rudd, just as she did in 2010, when she dramaticallysome would say cold-bloodedlyousted then P.M. Rudd in an intraparty putsch. Rudd served as Gillard's Foreign Minister until Feb. 22, when he resigned to challenge Gillard in an III-fated showdown, Rudd's rise to power In 2007 made international headlines: erudite and fluent in Mandarin, he was expected to steer Australia Into the new waters of an "Asian" 21st century. But his legacy now is one of domestic discord.



# **End of Their Vigil**

4 LONGOM. In the shell of a tent, an Occupy London protester meditates before a statue of the Buddha after city bailiffs and police evicted the activists and dismantled their encampment in a midplik read, Occupy London planted itself in October near the steps of the British capital's iconic St. Paul's Cathedral and remained there—causing a crisis for the church that led to the resignation of a number of prominent clerics.

# Building Relationships

SIALGERIA A Chinese state company will build a \$1.3 billion mosque in Algeria's capital, Algiers. The mosque is the brainchild of autocratic Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, who, according to his Religious Affairs Minister, "wants to leave his mark." Such projects form a key part of China's new soft power. Beijing has helped erect myriad bridges, national parliaments and stadiums around the world.

### If China builds it, they will come

THE PROPOSEO MOSQUE WILL HAVE SPACE FOR 120,000 PEOPLE

ITS MINARET WILL SOAR ALMOST THE NEW, SPACEAGE HEAOQUARTERS
OF THE AFRICAN
UNION—THE
CONTINENT'S
MOST IMPORTANT
REGIONAL BOOY—
WAS OESIGNED,
FUNDED AND BUILT

Addis Ababe. Ethiopia

# WILL SIT ON 49 ACRES AND

INCLUGE A MUSEUM AND LIBRARY

-276
football
feeds

# Knives in The Dark

6 CHINA Officials in the restive far western region of Xinjiang said "terrorists" were ehind a day of violence in the Slik Road oasis town of Yecheng, not far from the border with Pakistan. At least 20 people are reported dead. though it's unclear how many were bystanders, police officers or purported attackers. XInilang is home to the Ulghurs, a Muslim Turkic people who have long chafed under China's

domineering rule.

# Wade in Hot Water

7 ISENEAL A presidential election in what has long been considered West Africa's most stable democracy yielded no outright victor. Though octogenarian President Abdoulaye Wade was the first place finisher, he won far less than the 50% required for victory. Wade, who is attempting to circumvent his nation's two-term limit for the presidency, will now face a runoff against his nearest challenger. Protests in the weeks before the vote led to at least six deaths.



A Wade supporter walks past opposition posters

# **Nation**

# **Between the Lines** By Mark Halperin

Mitt Romney averted disaster and regained a commanding position in his fight for the Republican presidential nomination by winning primaries in Michigan and Arizona, Now he heads into the upcoming flurry of voting with a long to-do list: Decide how to use his diminished bank account and campaign time wisely in the rostates that hold contests on Super Tuesday. Make sure he comes out of that day's battle for 437 delegates with a win beyond Virginia. Massachusetts and Vermont. which are likely victories; Ohio would be the best, but Tennessee and North Dakota are options. > End all the verbal miscues, like saving "sport" when most Americans would say "sports" and trying to flaunt his ties to NASCAR by saving he knows some of the car owners. Analyze why his campaign underperformed in the Wolverine State, barely edging Rick Santorum, who bested him on social-issue passion and blue collar credibility. Find the flaws elsewhere in his operation, and then fix what's broken, wherever-or whoever-it is. Put the economic argument against President Obama's record back at the center of his message. Take a page from Obama's 2008 campaign and argue that a Romney loss is almost mathematically impossible thanks to convention-delegate rules and his lead. > Look for subtle. interpersonal ways to ease GOP rivals out of the race. Determine if he can be elected President with his current horrid relationship with the media, and if he can't, take some serious steps to improve his standing with the press. Placate worried financial backers by telling them he will stop making gaffes, has a plan to win and has sufficient fire in the belly. If he does all that, Romney could be the de facto nominee by the end of March, If he fails, we are back to talk of a contested convention in Tampa.

### SHRINKING-MIDDLE UPDATE

# Maine Moderate to Step Down

For nearly 34 years, centrist Republican Olympia Snowe has been in the middle of every important policy debate in Congress, from health care to abortion to the stimulus. leveraging her willingness to break with the GOP to shape bills and deliver benefits for her Maine constituents. Her decision not to seek re-election as a Senator in November which surprised even some of her top aides, makes bipartisan compromise even less likely in coming years.



# Urhan Chicken Ultra-locavores have a new worry: zoning rules

Couns

designed to restrict how city dwellers raise America's favorite white meat. A new rule allows backvard egg harvesting but no slaughtering is on the table in Tampa, Motions in Cheisea, Mich., and Appleton, Wis., would permit residents to keep hens but not roosters, Cedar Rapids lowa, requires would-be bird raisers to attend a one-hour certification class. Opponents of urban chicken farming say the health risks and predawn cock-a-doodle-dooing outweigh the benefits of really fresh breakfasts. But in Boston, where forced chicken removals have ruffled some feathers, backyard birds could become legal within a year.

# 14,000,000 U.S. car sales expected in 2012 by the market mavens at J.D. Power

and Associates, un from 12.8 million in 2011. Automakers nlan to add some 13,000 jobs to meet the new demand

# THE MILITARY

By the numbers: SEALs,

# Navy SEALs to Diversify

Navy SEALs-the elite commandos who killed Osama bin Laden-need more minorities in their ranks. "Traditional SEAL-team demographics will not support some of the emerging mission elements," says the service, meaning nonwhites are needed to help undertake operations overseas. Apparently worried that its demanding swimming tests could undercut the SEALs' diversity efforts, the Navy is considering swimming classes for new recruits.





SOURCE, NAVAL SPECIAL WARFART COMMAND

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If you take LIPITOR, tell your doctor if you feel any new muscle pain or weakness. This could be a sign of rare but serious muscle side effects. Tell your doctor about all medications you take. This may help avoid serious drug interactions. Your doctor should do blood tests to check your liver function before and during treatment and may adjust your dose.

Common side effects are diarrhea, upset stomach, muscle and joint pain, and changes in some blood tests.

LIPITOR is a prescription medicine that is used along with a low-fat diet. It lowers the LDL ("bad" cholesterol) and triglycerides in your blood. It can raise your HDL ("good" cholesterol) as well. LIPITOR can lower the risk for heart attack, stroke, certain types of heart surgery, and chest pain in patients who have heart disease or risk factors for heart disease such as age, smoking, high blood pressure, low HDL, or family history of early heart disease.

LIPITOR can lower the risk for heart attack or stroke in patients with diabetes and risk factors such as diabetic eye or kidney problems, smoking or high blood pressure.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088.



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# **IMPORTANT FACTS**



(LIP-ih-tore)

# LOWERING YOUR HIGH CHOI ESTEROL

High cholesterol is more than just a number, it's a risk factor that should not be ignored. If your doctor said you have high cholesterol, you may be at an increased risk for heart attack and stroke. But the good news is, you can take steps to lower your cholesterol.

With the help of your doctor and a cholesterol-lowering medicine like LIPITOR (atorvastatin calcium) tablets, along with diet and exercise, you could be on your way to lowering your cholesterol.

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# WHO IS LIPITOR (atorvastatin calcium) tablets FOR?

Who can take LIPITOR:

- · People who cannot lower their cholesterol enough with diet and exercise
- · Adults and children over 10

# Who should NOT take LIPITOR:

- · Women who are pregnant, may be pregnant, or may become pregnant. LIPITOR may harm your unborn baby. If you become pregnant, stop LIPITOR and call your doctor right away.
- · Women who are breast-feeding, LIPITOR can pass into your breast milk and may harm your baby,
- · People with liver problems
- People allergic to anything in LIPITOR

# **BEFORE YOU START LIPITOR** (atorvastatin calcium) tablets

Tell your doctor:

- · About all medications you take, including prescriptions, over-the-counter medications, vitamins, and herbal supplements
- · If you have muscle aches or weakness
- . If you drink more than 2 alcoholic drinks a day
- · If you have diabetes or kidney problems
- . If you have a thyroid problem

# ABOUT LIPITOR (atorvastatin calcium) tablets

LIPITOR is a prescription medicine. Along with diet and exercise, it lowers "bad" cholesterol in your blood. It can also raise "good" cholesterol (HDL-C).

LIPITOR can lower the risk of heart attack, stroke, certain types of heart surgery, and chest pain in patients who have heart disease or risk factors for heart disease such as:

· age, smoking, high blood pressure, low HDL-C, family history of early heart disease

LIPITOR can lower the risk of heart attack or stroke in patients with diabetes and risk factors such as diabetic eye or kidney problems, smoking, or high blood pressure.

# POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF LIPITOR (atorvastatin calcium) tablets

Serious side effects in a small number of people:

- Muscle problems that can lead to kidney problems, including kidney failure. Your chance for muscle problems is higher
- if you take certain other medicines with LIPITOR.
- · Liver problems. Your doctor may do blood tests to check your
- liver before you start LIPITOR and while you are taking it

Call your doctor right away if you have:

- · Unexplained muscle weakness or pain, especially if you have a fever or feel very tired
- · Allergic reactions including swelling of the face, lips, tongue, and/or throat that may cause difficulty in breathing or swallowing which may require treatment right away
- · Nausea, vomiting, or stomach pain . Brown or dark-colored urine
- · Feeling more tired than usual
- . Your skin and the whites of your eyes turn yellow · Allergic skin reactions

# Common side effects of LIPITOR are:

- Diarrhea Unset stomach
- · Muscle and joint pain
- · Changes in some blood tests

# **HOW TO TAKE LIPITOR (atorvastatin** calcium) tablets

- · Take LIPITOR as prescribed by your doctor.
- . Try to eat healthy foods while you take LIPITOR.
- . Take LIPITOR at any time of day, with or without food.
- · If you miss a dose, take it as soon as you remember. But if it has been more than 12 hours since your missed dose, wait. Take the next dose at your regular time.

# Don't:

- · Do not change or stop your dose before talking to your doctor.
- . Do not start new medicines before talking to your doctor.
- . Do not give your LIPITOR to other people. It may harm
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# **Spotlight**

# Safer Passage. Traffic deaths have fallen to record lows. Will distracted driving shift the trend?

AMERICA'S ROADWAYS ARE SAFER THAN EVER. The latest data show that traffic fatalities are at their lowest level since 1949 and that the death rate based on miles traveled is the lowest in history. But technologies such as active safety systems and advanced air bags are being offset by auto safety's newest enemy: distracted drivers using electronic devices behind the wheel.

"We lost over 3,000 in 2010 to distractionrelated crashes," National Highway Traffic Safety Administration chief David Strickland says. "It's a heightened risk to the public, and it's growing exponentially."

New guidelines proposed in February by the Transportation Department would encourage carmakers to counter the distractions with other technologies that would restrict devices to functions that allow the driver to keep one hand on the wheel, keep off-road glances under 2 sec, and limit manual inputs on devices. The guidelines call for disabling distracting visual-manual operations such as text messaging, Web browsing, engaging the navigation system, phone dialing and reading more than 30 characters of text unrelated to operating the vehicle.

Will a plugged-in public accept limitations on its ability to connect on the move?

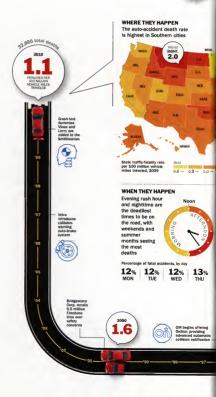
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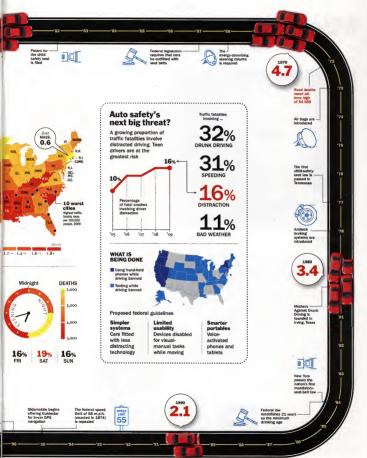
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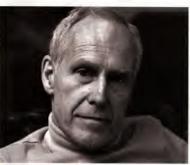
Strickland says that like the U.S.'s shift in attitudes about child safety seats, seat belts and drinking and driving, Americans will eventually come around on the latest threat.

"Bottom line, it's about saving lives," he says. -ANDRÉA FORD





# **Milestones**



# **Barney Rosset** By Morgan Entrekin

He was a great American publisher. Barney Rosset published to his passions, took chances on writers when no one else would, fought for his books-sometimes all the way to the Supreme Court-and was never motivated primarily by money. The extraordinary list of books he and his colleagues at Grove Press published from 1951 to 1986 profoundly changed our culture. Lady Chatterley's Lover, Naked Lunch and Tropic of Cancer helped overturn censorship laws, Beckett, Borges, Bulgakov, Neruda. Oe, Pinter and Stoppard broadened our minds. The Beats-Burroughs, Kerouac, Ginsberg and others-galvanized a generation. And there were books that questioned conventional ideas of gender, sexuality or race-John Rechy's City of Night, the Marquis de Sade's work, The Story of O, The Autobiography of Malcolm X and Frantz Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth.

Barney, who died Feb. 21 at 89, was slightly built, with a wonderful, cackling laugh. He'd tell me stories about the early days of Grove and, inevitably, his time at the progressive Chicago school that helped shape his political beliefs, because he had a great sense of social responsibility. He knew publishers could change the world with the books they published-because he did it.

Entrekin is the president and publisher of Grove/Atlantic Books

# DIED

Erland Josephson, 88, Swedish actor who collaborated with his close friend Ingmar Bergman on films such as Scenes from a Marriage and Cries and Whispers

### RESIGNED James Murdoch, son of Rupert

Murdoch, as executive cha of News International. In the wake of backing a the company's U.H



Lynn "Buck" Compto 90, who prosecuted Robert F. Kennedy's ssin in 1969 and gained fame for his World War II service when it was profiled in the book and TV series Band of Brothers.

# Davy Jones

A cute, diminutive Brit. Davy Jones was the mber of the made-for-TV nkees who most embled the classic odel of a '60s music artthrob: Englishaccented, boy-faced, with a ar singing tone and wide, earnest eyes, (And, of course, his tambourine.) The quartet's dreamboat. Jones, who was 66 when he ed on Feb. 29, sang one of its biggest hits, "Daydream Bellever"-though of the songs he fronted on, his worlte was "Valleri." Even if the show never meant to be more than entertainment and a hit-single generator. we shouldn't sell The Monkees short, It was far better TV than it had to be. Whatever Jones and the Monkees were meant to be. they became creative artists in their own right, and Jones' chipper Brit-pop esence was a bld reason they were able to produce work that was commercial and wholesome yet at times ressively weird. -JAMES PONIEWOZIK





# Jan Berenstain In the early 1960s, Stan

and Jan Berenstain submitted a children's book featuring an ursine family to Theodor Geisel (Dr. Seuss), editor in chief of Beginner Books. For their next book. Geisel added the line. "Another adventure of the Berenstain Bears." Ian Berenstain, who died Feb. 24 at 88, was a cocreator of Mama, Papa. Sister and Brother Bear. who live in a big treehouse down a sunny dirt road deep in bear country. In more than 300 books that sold 260 million copies, they taught young readers comfort in strange situations and happiness with family. After Stan's death in 2005, Jan produced books with her two sons, who continue the franchise. So fans of the Bear family need not fear; 19 new books will



95, for 50 years the

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NATE RAWLINGS

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# For Richer or Poorer

If we want to fix marriage, we might start by fixing the economy

OCIAL ISSUES, PARTICULARLY THE economics of marriage and childbirth, have been major themes in the Republican primary races. As Charles Murray's much-talked-about book Coming Apart points out, marriage is becoming a luxury good: Well-educated rich people get married and stay married. Most of the rest of the population doesn't. This, along with a spate of studies about the growing number of low-income. single-parent families, has spurred a debate about whether government should push marriage as a poverty-elimination tool. But is it really that simple? To quote Beyoncé, would poverty go away if we "put a ring on it"?

Statistically it's true that people who have finished high school and are married are less likely to be poor, particularly when you throw children into the mix. But just as government efforts to create an "ownership society" via mass access to mortgages didn't end well, policies that push marriage aren't necessarily the way to bolster prosperity. The causalities of wedlock and the ways in which we capture its economic benefits are, as it turns out, as complex as marriage itself.

The institution has been losing ground for decades. A recent Pew study found that the national marriage rate has hit an all-time low. Meanwhile, the percentage of children born out of wedlock has been rising: it's now 41% overall and 33% for those born to women under 30.

That's the statistic we should really care about, according to experts like lasbel Sawhill at the Brookings Institution. "I don't think people would worry about the decline of marriage if it wasn't for the effect on kids," she says. "All the research shows that there's tremendous turmoil in the lives of children born out of wedlock."

Not only are their parents poorer, but they also have a tendency to move in and out of relationships faster. According to Princeton professor Sara McLanahan, it's not unusual for a single or cohabiting parent to have three partners over the course of five years and multiple children with different partners. Forget about moral judgment, the issue is that this rotating cast of characters can create complexity and volatility in the lives of these families.



Cohabitation isn't always associated with such turnoil. In many parts of Europe, couples live together without marying at much greater rates across the socioeconomic spectrum, and many of those nonmarital unions are more stable than our married ones. (In France the average length of cohabitation is 9,5 years; in the U.S. it's 1.17) They also tend to lead to marriage more frequently. In Sweden, 82% of cohabiting couples end up sealing the deal. In the U.S. fewer than half do.

But in the U.S., the issue of instability and cohabitation is crucial, because an increasing amount of data shows that poverty is as closely correlated with emotional and financial volatility as it is with absolute income. In short, people who are constantly living on the edge are more likely to fall over it.

Despite all that, researchers who study that correlation, like McLanahan, say pushing people who aren't ready into marriage isn't the solution. Busher a programs encouraging people to marry have really had no effect," McLanahan says. Indeed, previously cohabiting American couples who marry have higher thanaverage divorce rates. Bottom line; you can't reverse engineer marriage.

# What does help create more stable families? Birth control—because three-

quarters of births outside marriage are unintended, according to sociologist Jennifer Manlove of Child Trends, a nonprofit that studies childhood development. Particularly among 20-20-50methings, the fastest growing group of unmarried mons, there's a tendency to use less reliable means of birth control, like condoms and the withdrawal method. Their European peers, who often get free, statefunded health care, tend to use more expensive but more reliable methods like the Pill and IUDs.

Another thing we might do to create more stable, two-parent families is help men find jobs. The retreat from wedlock has occurred in tan-

dem with the economic decline of working class men. Marriage rates, along with the wages of less educated men, have been falling for four decades. Many experts who study the economics of marriage see a connection between those two trends. There simply arent as many steadily employed, marriageable men as there used to be, so women—particularly poorer ones—end up going it alone.

All this presents an interesting campaign conundrum for Republicans. It turns out that bailing out Detroit may be a better way to boost marriage than promoting abstinence. Note to President Obama's campaign managers: Put a ring on that.

# The Hair-Fire Manifesto

Will Romney remember that he needs to reach out to the middle, not play to the margins?

E'VE SEEN THROUGHOUT THE campaign that if you're willing to say really outrageous things that are accusative and attacking President Obama, that you're going to jump up in the polls," Mitt Romney said just before he won the Michigan and Arizona primaries, "I'm not willing to light my hair on fire to try and get support," Well. that's a relief. It's nice to know that there's something Romney won't say or do to win the Republican nomination. His Hair-Fire Manifesto, immediately criticized by Republican Party boss Rush Limbaugh, also had the virtue of being true; while his opponents-mostly Newt Gingrich and Rick Santorum-have been saying all sorts of outrageous and insidious things about the President, Romney has pretty much stood by his initial formulation: Obama is a nice guy who has been overmatched by the office. The trouble is, Romney has engaged in follicular arson on so many other issues-on immigration and foreign policy and health care and "entitlements"-that he has severely damaged his standing with the constituency that should matter most to him: the sane moderates and independents who will decide the general election.

The two most ridiculous words in politics are detability and invitability, especially when used prospectively. Over the years, I've seen candidate after candidate crash and burn by positing. 'Elect me, I'm electable,' without putting any meat behind the proposition. Candidates who tout their electability are usually moderates. (Those who implicitly tout their income) with the proposition candidates with a lot of money in the bank.) They focus most of their attention, naturally, on finding ways to conciliate their party's most passionate adherents, the base. But the

electable candidates who succeed—Bill Clinton and George W. Bush, to name two recent examples—also offer a message that encourages moderates and independents to turn out for them, even in the primaries. Clinton's emphasis on reforming welfare and curbing crime rankled the Democratic Party base but brought a lot of disgusted moderates to the polls. Bush's "compassionate conservatism" led him to spend more time talking about poverty than any of the Democratis



who ran in 2000, and it took the edge off his tax-cutting message.

Romney has done no such thing. Given a chance to run to the left of his opponents on any one of a variety of issues, he hasn't taken it. Most recently, he chose not to challenge Santorum on birth control or prenatal testing or on both the choice not to challenge Santorum on the notion that the President is a "snob" for suggesting that college is a good thing. Romney's silence is understandable. He has a heavier lift than Clinton or Bush the Vounger hach, his Republican Party oozes half-crazed extremist anger. But gaining credibility with the party's base means

losing credibility with everyone else. In one of the early debates, the candidates were asked if they would sign a deficitreduction bill that included \$1 in taxes for every \$10 in cuts. Romney said no. as did all the others (including Ion Huntsman). What would have happened if Romney had said, "Hey guys, 10 to 1 is a pretty good deal-that sort of compromise is a small price to pay to get this country back on track"? He might have sacrificed a few of the wingers, but he would have established himself as a politician willing to make deals to make progress, which is something 80% of the public said they wanted in a Time poll last autumn.

Romney has actually gotten worse during the course of the campaign. He

started off with a tight, disciplined message about jobs and the economy. He took questions from his audiences, and usually sounded pretty smart answering them. He may be an awkward man, but he is not a stupid one-and his awkwardness is amplified when his access to the public, and the press, is diminished. Starting in Iowa, though, his stump speech became an empty recitation of platitudes and patriotic lyrics; he closes it with a recitation of "America the Beautiful." It is a bland and rote effort that obscures his expertise on the very issue that is most important to most Americans.

It is possible that the Hair-Fire Manifesto is an indication that Romney has had enough of playing dumb in order to hoodwink his party's extremists into voting for him. He still has a strong economic message to deliver, an argument for reforming government intervention in the free market. Indeed, the argument is getting stronger as the full, staggeringly complicated consequences of the Dodd-Frank financial-reform bill are unfolding on the financial pages. But to deliver that message credibly. Romney has to publicly reject the antic silliness of his party's base. It is possible that he's beginning to learn that lesson

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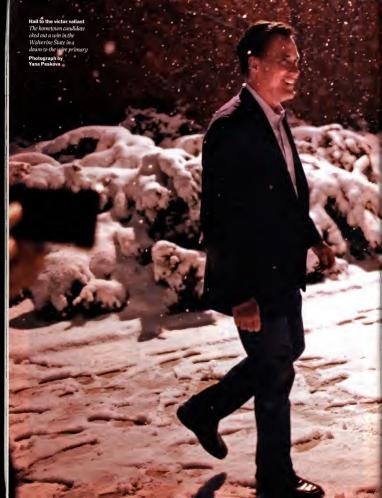
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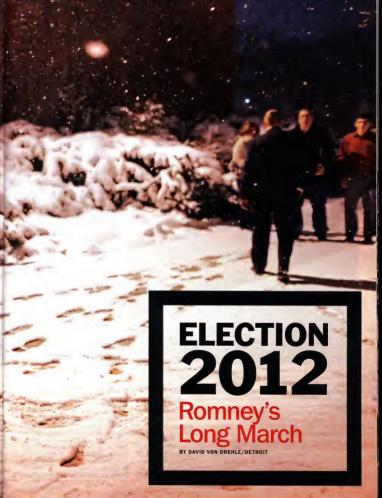
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URING THE GREAT DEpression, greedy promoters staged sadistic endurance contests cross-country footraces, flagpole sitting, weekslong walkathons. The worst of these were the dance marathons, in which contestants suffered privation,

humiliation and sometimes permanent

damage in the faint hope of winning a pal-

try prize. An enlightened nation finally turned against these appalling spectacles. But now with the return of economic hard times, something disturbingly similar has cropped up in states around the country. They call it the Republican presi-

dential campaign.

After more than 20 televised debates and two months of voting, the four remaining candidates are staggering glassy eyed toward Super Tuesday, March 6. Voters in 20 states, from Virginia to Alaska, will cast ballots, and even then—at the risk of spoiling the suspense—the ordeal is bound to drag on. Given the proud tenacity of the various dark horse candidates, the bottom-less wallets of their super-PAC benefactors, and the GOP's arcane rules for awarding delegates this year, the music may drome maniacally until June or even later. Mean-while, the contestants look more worn with each passing date, has assing date, and word word with the contestants look more worn with each passing date.

"We didn't win by a lot, but we won by enough—that's all that counts," declared the shuffling front runner Mitt Romney in his victory speech in Michigan, where he survived a mutiny by social conservatives and the mischief of liberals casting crossover votes for Rick Santorum. It was the verbal equivalent of a sigh of relief after he eked out a 3-point win in his native state, where a loss could have been fatal. Who loses in a state where the governor's office is in a building named after your dad?

But the race has so far been immune to momentum, survival today only guarantees more punishment tomorrow. While Romney's delegate count slowly inches up, his favorability ratings drift danger-ously downward. According to exit polls in Michigan, Romney lost to Santorum among the 40% of voters under 50, the half of voters with no college degree and the one-third of voters who call them-selves very conservative. Romney remains very lucky that no candidate has managed to pull the anti-Romney vote together. Headed to Suner Tuesdaw. he

lags far behind Santorum in Ohio and Tennessee polls, trails former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich in Georgia and might well be running behind Representative Ron Paul in the Alaska polls, if there were any.

A scene from They Shoet Horses, Dou't They?—the Classic dance-marathon movie—seems pertinent. The exhausde contestants stumble near the point of collapse as the M.C. lashes them to keep moving: "Here they are again, folks! These wonderful, wonderful kids! Still struggling! Still hoping! As the clock of fate ticks away, the dance of destiny continues! The marathon goes on and on and on! How long can they last?"

### When Resilience Is All

AS HISETTLIS IN FOR AN EXTENDED SIEGE, Romery possesses at least one very useful quality. It's not money—though the wealthy investor's deep-pocketed campaign and free spending super PAC have certainly come in handy as he fights off one challenger after another, Team Romney apparently outspent Santorum 2 to 1 in Michigan. The useful Rommey trait is resilience. No matter what blows he has suffered at the hands of a radges succession of surging anti-Mitts, Romney just hitches up his pressed but jeans, shellass his salt- and-pepper hair into place and goes back to the grind.

A few days before the votes were counted in Michigan, Romney switched on his happy face and took the stage before a crowd of well over 500 Tea Party supporters at a banquet hall in Milford. Mich., on the outskirts of Detroit. He was fresh from vet another one of his efficient, B-plus debate performances. He is almost always good enough in those forums to deflate whichever opponent is soaring highest that day but never quite winning enough to close the deal with Republican voters. The night before, at a debate in Arizona, Romney had put former Senator Santorum in a box labeled "Washington insider" and ruthlessly nailed down the lid. Forced to explain an unpopular vote, Santorum offered weakly that he'd had to "take one for the team," and now Romney was in Michigan hoping to carve those go-along, getalong words into Santorum's political tombstone.

By the end of his Milford speech, the man from Massachusetts—no favorite

of the Tea Partyers—had the potentially hostile crowd on its feet, cheering and whistling. Romney was beaming. His Michigan state chairman—the state's attorney general, Bill Schuette—was ecstatic. "A home run," Schuette declared. "He spoke the Tea Party language."

But what's this? "I'm still kind of on the fence," Larry Herzinger, a retired engineer and member of the Brighton, Mich., Tea Party, said afterward. "I tend to be more conservative than Mitt Romnew," And Wes Nakagiri, founder of a Tea





Party organization called RetakeOurGov, confessed, "My gut says Santorum."

Romney can't break through and won't break down. He makes up for lack of raw political talent with sheer political endurance. Stamina, however, is no substitute for agility. And so Michigan found him, after his big Tea Party speech, addressing the friendly, suited executives of the Detroit Economic Club inside a cavernous football stadium, Ford Field. The arena felt empty, but the crowd was warm. The speech was flat but harm.

Looking out Santorum, with his Secret Service detail, at a Michigan campaign stop

less. He was almost to the end when he launched into pandering about his love of American cars. He mentioned his Mustang, which was good politics, and his pickup truck, which was even better. But then he stumbled onto the topic of his wife's "two Cadillacs." He went on to botch a populist moment at the Day-

tona 500 by mentioning that his "great friends are NASCAR team owners."

Romney's auto gaffes were a reminder that the Republican's broader approach to car-loving Michigan is, on the whole, selfdefeating. In a state where r in 5 jobs is connected to the auto industry, the candidates ran hard against the federal bailout of General Motors and Chrysler. Seeveral had something to say about the need for Michigan to become a right-to-work state. These necessary homages to the Tea Party faction of the GOP alone will probably deliver the state into the Democrats' hands in the fall.

Romney's string of major and minor clunkers—what Democratic consultant Paul Begala dubbed "Marie Antoinette affes'—might be enough to sink him if it weren't for the fact that his opponents are no better, and often worse. Gingrich promised recession-tacked Floridians that he would build them a permanent base on the moon. Santorum, once he seized the spotlight with symbolic victories in the heartland in mid-February. Lurned his campaign into a seminar on Catholic reproductive ethics.

Santorum's past two weeks constituted one of the more consciously, and theologically, conservative appeals to voters made by any candidate in a generation. His Michigan campaign schedule was heavy on Lenten fish fries, Christian-academy drop-bys and Knights of Columbus meet

ings. He leaned heavily on his record as a pro-life politician, railing against the White House positions on health care, contraception and religious freedom. But then he kicked the Catholic vote into Romney's column, according to exit polls, in part by bashing the first Catholic President: John F. Kennedy's famous speech on religious tolerance, Santorum declared, made him want to "throw up." And at times, the pressure on Santorum seemed to bring out something thoughtless in him: the man who brags about his 93-year-old mother's graduate degree in nursing called a sitting President a "snob" for backing college education for all.

# When the Unlikely Is Likely

IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE 2008 ELECTION, Republican elders coveted the cliff hanger that was Obama vs. Clinton. The longer their battle to the death continued, the more it seemed to gather energy for the Democratic Party, while Republican John McCain's tidy victory, wrapped up in late winter, left the GOP faithful ho-hum. So the party elders arranged a set of rules for awarding delegates that frowned on the winner-take-all primaries that favor front runners and deal knockout blows. This year they front-loaded the calendar with fractional contests that give runners-up a share of the delegates, thus stacking the deck for a long, drawn-out contest.

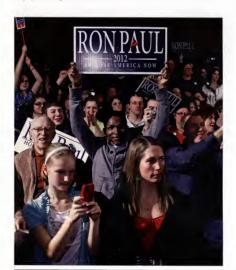
It was St. Teresa of Avila who noted that "more tears are shed over answered prayers than unanswered ones," and now those GOP elders are weeping, Judging from the weak voter turnout in February, the Republican marathon is sapping rather than stoking party enthusiasm. And there is no end in sight.

An expert on the head-spinning election rules, Josh Putnam, has done some modeling based on a Romney campaign that keeps racking up less than-majority victories. In that scenario, reaching, the magic number for the nomination—1,144 delegates—likely "akes until June," says Putnam, an assistant professor of political science at Davidson Collega.

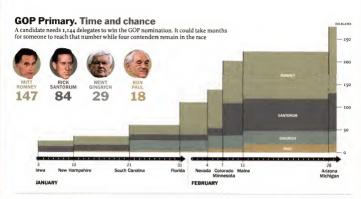
The Super Tuesday scenario is even less clear cut. Romney faces a steeper battle against Santorum for the working-class and white Evangelical votes in Ohio; a loss in that ultimate swing state would be another dent in his once gleaming claim to be the party's strongest general-election candidate. His almost certain win in Virginia will be discounted because neither Santorum nor Gingrich is on the ballot there. Romney's persistent trouble with Evangelical conservatives will also make it hard for him to sew up Oklahoma and Tennessee. The libertarian wing of the party, with its devotion to Paul, will likely give him trouble in Idaho, North Dakota and Alaska. All four contenders could come out of the big March contest legitimately holding victory parties. In short, Super Tuesday may well be a super muddle.

February was filled with talk of white knights—the Jeb Bushes and Mitch Danielses and Chris Christies who might

Rallying for Ron The Congressman got an appreciative response in Grand Rapids, Mich., but only 12% of the state's votes







The road ahead • CAUCUS • PRIMARY









Candidate totals lockude estimates for unbound delegates and do not include externetic delegates who cen endorse their cheice of candidate at any time. Source: A

make perfect candidates but for the fact that they arent in the race. The Bush believers were given new hope when Jeb himself pronounced his party's debates too divisive and dark. Those dreams are fading, though, as the marathon continues. Even fantasy candidates have to win delegates, and with each passing week, fewer remain to be won.

Haley Barbour, the closest thing the Republican Party has to Yoda, admits "there is an outside possibility" that the nomination will remain in doubt all the way to the convention in Tampa. There hasn't been a finish like that in either party since 1976, when Gerald Ford wrangled enough support in Kansas City, Mo, to squeak past Ronald Reagan for the Republican nomination. That didn't work outso

well for the GOP: Ford went on to lose the general election to Jimmy Carter.

The traditional solution is perhaps the best one; someone needs to win this race. With Romney's victories in Michigan and Arizona, he renewed his claim that he's in the best position to be that someone. But building momentum won't be easy. Santorum's edge among Evangelical Christians is likely to carry more weight in Ohio, where nearly 45% of the GOP-primary electorate in 2008 fit that description. Romney's advantage with highincome voters in Michigan will count for less in Ohio, where only 1 in 5 of 2008 Republican-primary voters earned more than \$100,000 a year. And if Michigan is Romney's home state, parts of gritty, socially conservative eastern Ohio think of themselves as suburbs of Pittsburgh, Santorum's native soil.

Despite his 'spending disadvantage' and 'savage attacks from Romney and Tsaul, Santorum defied expectations and turned out Michigan voters in drover says Marjorie Dannenfelser, president of the Susan B. Anthony List and an antiabortion activist. "Momentum is building for his candidacy moving toward Super Tuesdav."

A Santorum resurgence would once again upset the normally stately Republican Party approach to picking presidential nominees. But then nothing about this election year, which has no precedent in modern GOP history, has been normal.—WITH REPORTING BY KATY STEINMET! WASHINGTON



# TEAR DOWN THAT WALL?

The roots and risks of Rick Santorum's attack on the separation of church and state

BY JON MEACHAM

ICK SANTORUM SEEMS TO BE A WELL-READ MAN. IN a single speech on faith and politics, delivered in September 2010 at the University of St. Thomas in Houston to commemorate the 50th anniversary of John F. Kennedy's address on church and state, the former Pennsylvania Senator quoted or alluded to St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Thomas More, St. Augustin, John Henry Newman, Edmund Burke, G.K. Chestetton, St. Teresa of Avila, C.S. Lewis, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, John Courtney Murray, Martin Luther King Jr., John Paull, Beendeit XVI and Abraham Joshua Heschel. In one speech.

For all of this erudition, however, Santorum's critical faculties failed him when it came to reading what Kennedy actually argued in Houston back in 1960. On more than one occasion, Santorum has said Kennedy's words make him want to "throw up"—an extreme reaction to an extreme misunderstanding of JFK's position on church-and-state issues, (Santorum has since

said he regrets his throwing-up comment.)

His ongoing success or failure at the polls is one measure of how many Americans share his view of life as a war between the forces of the faithful and the armies of secularism. For the moment, more Republicans feel comfortable with Mitt Romney, a Mormon who argues that religion should inform but not dominate politics, than with Santorum, a Roman Catholic who said the felfersonian wall between church and state is somit-inducing or the pelfersonian wall between church and state is somit-inducing or the pelfersonian wall between church and state is somit-inducing to the pelfersonian wall between church and state is somit-inducing to the pelfersonian wall between church and state is somit-inducing to the pelfersonian the pelfersonian to the pelfersonian the pelfersonian to the pelfersonian the pelfersonian to the pelfersonian the the pelfersonian to the pelfersonian to the pelfersonian to the pelfersonian to the pelfersonian the the pelfersonian t

For Santorum, JFK's speech encapsulates much of what is wrong with the country. "Kennedy for the first time articulated the vision saying, No, faith is not allowed in the public square. I will keep it separate," Santorum told George Stephanopoulos on ABC's This Wek. "Go on and read the speech."

Excellent idea. Here is what JFK said: "I believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute; where no Catholic prelate would tell the President—should he be Catholic—

how to act, and no Protestant minister would tell his parishioners for whom to vote; where no church or church school is granted any public funds or political preference, and where no man is denied public office merely because his religion differs from the President who might appoint him, or the people who might elect him."

Santorum suggests that Kennedy offered a secular call to arms, banishing religion from American life in ways that believers like Santorum are still crusading to reverse. Kennedy's address, however, doesn't say what Santorum wishes it to have said. It called for an end to bigotry, not an end to faith in politics. "Finally," Kennedy said, "I believe in an America where religious intolerance will someday end, where all men and all churches are treated as equals ... and where Catholics, Protestants and Jews... will refrain from those attitudes of disadian and division which have so often marred their works in the past, and promote instead the American ideal of brotherhood."

In fact, JFK is a fairly good model of how religious values camand should—inform the actions of a political leader. The Judoc-Christian vision of the sanctity of the individual and of the value of liberty shaped Kennedy's approaches to the Cold War and ultimately to civil rights. From Lincoln to T.R. to FDR to JFK to Reagan, wise Presidents have not used pollitics to advance theological agendas but rather deployed theology in the service of statecraft. That's the work we should hope happens atop a sturdy wall between church and state.

From same-sex marriage to contraception, however, Santorum's religious rhetoric on the campaign trail is at once corrosive and cynical. On the one hand, his talk of tearing down the wall between church and state threatens to break an American covenant in which religious appeals and values are allowed into the political debate so long as the believers understand and ack nowledge that we are not a theocracy but a democracy.

MAGEE FOR TIME

At the same time, one cannot help suspecting there is calculation here too. When pressed, Santorum has conceded that as a Senator and as a candidate, he has abided by the essential point of Kennedy's speech. "Look at my record," he told David Gregory on Met the Press. "The never wanted to impose any of the things that you've just talked about. These are my personal held religious beliefs, and in many forums that are in fact religious because I do speak in front of church groups and I do speak in these areas, I do talk about them. But there's no evidence

at all that I want to impose those values on anybody else"—words that might have led Kennedy to murmur, "Amen."

So what's going on? Despite-his moments of clarity, Santontum seems to be running for President of an America that has more in common with that of 1940s movies like Coling My and The Bells of St. Mary's than with the actual America of 2012. Which is politically understand-able: nostalgia can be a potent force, at least in the short run. So can fear, which is what I thin! of Santorum's relivious rhetoric.

Many conservative believers feel under siege. According to the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, the percentage of Americans who think churches' should keep out of polities' rose from 44% to 52% from 2004 to 2010. Last year 66% of those polled by the Brookings Institution said they believed in a strict separation of church and state. And the increase in the number of Americans who say they are "unaffiliated" with any religious group (which has nearly religious group (which has nearly

doubled since 1990, from 8% to 15%) has been troubling Christian leaders since the trend was first reported in the respected American Religious Identification Survey in 2009.

Partly because of this feeling that faith is under attack, conservative believers worry about a so-called war on religion. For now, Santorum is brilliantly speaking to the faithful remnant of those who see the America they thought they knew disappearing. According to Gallup, Santorum's strongest leads over Romney are among Midwesterners, weekly churchgoers and political conservatives. He also has advantages with those over 35, those without a college degree and those with a household income under \$90,000 at Year.

Santorum is well equipped to respond to broad economic

and cultural anxieties with religiously informed rhetoric. He grew up with pictures of Jesus, JFK and Pope Paul VI on his grandparents wall. Today his worldview appears to owe much to the ethos and teachings of conservative Roman Catholic figures like Josemaria Escrivá de Balaguer, the late Spanish priets who founded Opus Dei, an order devoted to bringing daily life and temporal institutions into closer harmony with religious practice and belief. Santorum says he is not a member of Opus Dei but told the National Catholic Reporter in 2002 that he was

an admirer of Escrivá, who was canonized by Pope John Paul II that year. A maxim of Escrivá'sil-luminates the ethos that informs Santorum's rhetoric. "Have you ever bothered to think," Escrivá once asked, 'how absurd it is to leave one's Catholicism aside on entering a university, or a professional association, or a scholarly meeting, or a congress, as if you were checking your hat at the door?"

Santorum also critiqued Kennedy's Houston remarks at the
Values Voter Summit in 2010,
saying. "The impact of what papened in that speech and subsequent actions of many other
politicians is to drive you, the
people of faith, out of the public
square, discredit you, say it's O.K.
if you want to believe but you have no
right to bring your values into
public square and argue for moral
laws. No. no. no."

Yet Santorum's whole career undercuts his premise. He has been a member of Congress, a U.S. Senator and now a candidate for President all while standing in

the public square offering the kinds of expressions of faith that he claims are such an anathema to American life. I disagree with the extremity of Santorum's language but not because politics should be totally secular.

My objection to the Gospel According to Santorum lies in the danger I believe it poses to the cause he claims to be defending the place of religious appeals and arguments in the Madisonian arena. If the many Americans who are skeptical of the role of religion in politics come to see Santorum as synonymous with faith in the public square is going to suffer. This is a case where the extreme is the enemy of the good. Santorum's legacy, then, could be a more secular politics—a prospect that should surely turn his stomach.







## The Debate over Syria A rising death toll raises the question: To intervene or not?

### Why We Must Fight Alongside the Rebels By Shadi Hamid

E SYRIAN UPRISING began nearly a year ago. and despite renewed international efforts, the regime has intensified the killing. The death toll-approaching 8,000-is now five times what it was in Libva on the eve of the NATO intervention there. These are "crimes against humanity," a U.N. panel concluded recently.

Those of us who supported military action in Libya hoped that it might set a precedent, so that the next time, the U.S. and Europe would act quickly and decisively to protect civilian populations in the event of mass slaughter during the Arab Spring, The Syrian opposition has issued unambiguous calls for foreign military intervention. This is no Western imposition. It is Syrians-like Libyans before them-who are pleading that the West do more, not less

Already, military interven-

tion enjoys considerable Arab and Muslim legitimacy. The Turks. Qataris, Tunisians and Saudis have all called for various degrees of intervention, whether through safe zones, peacekeeping forces or arms for the Syrian rebels. But these countries cannot do it on their own. They are waiting for the U.S. to lead efforts to assemble a coalition that can intervene effectively and then help stabilize Syria after hostilities cease. No doubt the risks of intervention are considerable. But so too

are the risks of not intervening. Opponents of intervention have warned of militarization. civil war, Iranian meddling and an exodus of refugees, Well, all these things have already come to pass. Syria today is in danger of becoming a failed state. The regime has lost control over large swaths of territory. Al-Oaeda and other extremists are hoping to take advantage of the growing power vacuum. Can the world afford a failing state and protracted civil war in such a vital region?

If the objective of intervention is to protect civilian populations, then the first step is for the U.S. to help other countries provide Syrian rebel forces with both light arms and moreadvanced antitank and antiaircraft weaponry. The right to self-defense is a right guaranteed by international law. The second step would be the designation of liberated zonesparticularly those along the border with Turkey-as safe havens, as was done in Bosnia during the 1990s. To protect these areas, airpower and some special forces, preferably soldiers from Arab nations or Turkey, would be needed. The goal would not necessarily be to change the regime but rather to demonstrate international resolve, encourage regime defections and compel the Syrian government to alter its calculations about the use of force.

Currently, President Bashar Assad believes he can outlast the opposition and ultimately obliterate it through sheer force and brutality. Helping the rebels peel off large pieces of territory would demonstrate to Assad that he cannot win militarily.



which would breathe new life into diplomatic efforts or-at the very least-secure cease-fire agreements around key population centers. Such efforts could be accompanied by a naval blockade and an air campaign against key government and military positions and installations-as in Bosnia, Kosovo and, more recently, Libya, In Bosnia, NATO power forced the Serbs to the negotiating table, eventually leading to the Dayton Accords and the introduction of multinational peacekeeping forces. The Gaddafi regime in Libya showed more interest in negotiating with the opposition after, rather than before, military intervention. Within a few weeks of the start of the NATO operation, Gaddafi

envoys were engaging in

cease-fire talks. In late May, an increasingly desperate Libyan regime went further, offering to negotiate with rebels and institute constitutional reforms. Intervention and diplomatic efforts need not be mutually exclusive. They should proceed in parallel.

None of this, though, will be possible without U.S. support and leadership, Despite budgetary constraints, this is not the time for the Obama Administration to shrink from the challenge at hand. Even if the U.S. insists on leading from behind, it still needs to lead.

Hamid is director of research at the Brookinas Doha Center and a fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution



### Intervening Will Only Help Assad By Marc Lynch

HE ESCALATING BLOODshed in Syria has shocked the world and prompted calls for military intervention. Dozens of Syrians are being killed every day by the forces of President Bashar Assad, spiraling violence threatens to drag the country into a regional proxy war, and increasing numbers of Syrians are begging for help

The Obama Administration clearly wants, as it should, to help protect the Syrian people. But it also should understand that military intervention is not the way to help civilians or hasten a political

transition in Syria. Arming the opposition or using Western airpower against Syrian territory will likely only play into Assad's hands.

The only hope for avoiding an escalation of the slaughter in Syria is to persuade the undecided middle ground of Syrians, many of whom continue to support Assad out of fear for the future, to abandon the regime. That means helping the divided opposition unify and develop a convincing transition plan to reassure minorities and other uncommitted communities of their place in a post-Assad Syria. And it means rebutting the regime's narrative that the uprising is the work of foreign powers and armed gangs.

The appeal of intervention is clear. Why should Western bombers not come to the rescue of the Syrian people? Who could in good conscience deny opposition forces the means to defend themselves?

But establishing safe areas would require massive bombing to destroy Syria's antiaircraft capability and ensure the safety of allied planes. Declaring a safe area is meaningless if there is no military means or will to defend it, as we discovered to our horror in Bosnia. And by funneling arms to the rebels in the absence of any unified leadership, we could not hope to even the military balance of power.

These measures would also likely fuel the fighting while foreclosing any chance of a political solution. The crisis would not end the first day the bombs fell-it would only shift to a more extreme

level, challenging the U.S. and its allies to escalate their commitment. Is the West willing to engage in another Iraq-style occupation if that is what it takes?

Fortunately, military intervention is not the only way for the U.S. and its allies to help the Syrians, Instead, those who hope to help the Syrian people should focus on helping unify the opposition, increasing pressure on the Assad regime from the outside and accelerating the process of defections.

The necessity of unifying the opposition is obvious Even those who back military intervention or the arming of opposition forces like the Free Syrian Army acknowledge that doing so is impossible with the current divided and ineffective independence groups. The Syrian rebels may think they most need weapons, but what they really need is a political strategy. All factions of the opposition should focus less on asking for guns and more on laying out a clear, compelling political vision-which should in turn be backed by international guarantees of economic and political assistance.

THE GOAL SHOULD **NOT BE SIMPLY** OVERTHROWING ASSAD BUT RATHER CREATING THE CONDITIONS FOR A RELATIVELY **SMOOTH** TRANSITION AFTER HE FALLS

The U.S. and its allies can

also do more to increase pressure on Assad and his regime. There is already an impressive coalition, supported by a broad international consensus manifested in the 137-to-22 vote in the U.N. General Assembly in support of a transition plan. The E.U., Turkey, the Arabs and the U.S. have all imposed meaningful sanctions, which have isolated regime figures and contributed to the collapse of the Syrian economy, More should be done to bring Syrian officials to international justice and to shame the regime's remaining backers like Russia. China, in particular, should be targeted by the oil-producing Gulf states on which its economy so heavily depends.

The goal should not be simply overthrowing Assad but rather creating the conditions for a relatively smooth transition after he falls. The U.S. and its allies must continue to pursue a prudent, tough strategy of mobilizing international consensus while helping unify the Syrian opposition and carve out the space for a real political transition. That may not be as morally satisfying a battle cry as a demand for military action, but it is far more likely to help Syrian civilians in the long run.

Lynch is the director of the Institute for Middle East Studies at George Washington University and the author of The Arab Uprising: The Incomplete Revolutions of the New Middle East, to be published this month by PublicAffairs







The Myths Of Bullying **Each new student** tragedy sparks calls for stricter laws. But the rules come at a price—and sensational cases aren't always what they seem

BY JOHN CLOUD

T AROUND 7:30 A.M. ON FEB. 37, A. 17, year-old named T.J. Lane allegedly walked into a high school outside Cleveland with a 2.2 Ruger handgun. The shooter chose the Chardon High School cafeteria to begin his attack and got off to rounds. Police say he managed to his five students. Three are dead.

Motives for the killings remain a mystery the local prosecutor says Lane chose his victims at random, but a fellow student suggested that one victim may have been dating a girl Lane had courted. Yet even as police worked to secure the crime scene, one word quickly attached to the unfolding drama: bullping. Early reports described Lane as "bullled outcast." Anquished callers to local radio stations decried bullying. The day after the shooting, reporters at the White House asked President Obama's chief spokesman whether bullying had caused the crime. The spokesman demurred, but the idea stuck: a bullied kid had struck back.

As more details emerged, the story shifted. Lane, a well-built kid who had a group of friends and a lively Facebook account, didn't look like a classic victim. What is clear is that he survived a rough childhood. His parents were both arrested for domestic violence, and his father served time in prison for assault. Lane was living with his grandparents when he was arrested. He will almost certainly be charged as an adult, and brutal truths will emerge. But for now, Lane seems like both a bully—he shot five kids—and a victim.

Approximately 400 miles from Chardon, in a New Brunswick, N.J., courtroom, bullying also became the focus of a trial that began a week before the Ohio shootings. Dharun Ravi is accused of having so viciously tormented his Rutgers University roommate, a gay 18-year-old named Tyler Clementi, that in September 2010, Clementi leaped to his death from the George Washington Bridge, Partly because of the bridge's proximity to the nation's media capital and partly because of Clementi's gut-wrenching Facebook sign-off—"jumping off the gw bridge sorry"-the case ignited a furor over bullying that swept the tragedy from a local to an international story.

Details of the Clementi case show that it too is more nuanced than was initially reported. No one disputes that Ravi secretly set up a webcam to spy on Clementi after the latter asked to have their room to himself. No one disputes that Ravi watched as Clementi kissed another man, tweeted crudely that Clementi was gay and allowed at least one friend to watch Clementi's assignation. But in part because Ravi never posted the webcam video online, prosecutors are struggling to prove their case that he is guilty of "bias intimidation." The same day that Lane was shooting in Ohio, one of the New Jersey prosecutor's star witnesses, a friend of Ravi's. declined on the stand to testify that Rayi was biased against gays. In short, what began as a clear-cut case of bullying has led to a muddle that looks like a roommate dispute gone terribly wrong. Clementi was already out to his parents and others; he and Ravi both instantmessaged foolish and brutish things about each other. After the webcam incident, Clementi initially dismissed it: "he just like took a five sec peep lol," he IM'd a friend. The suicide came three days later.

#### The Bullving Conundrum

VERY LITTLE ABOUT BULLYING CONFORMS to popular belief. Not all that long ago, it was dismissed as an unfortunate rite of childhood. But because of high-profile cases like the Clementi tragedy and the 2010 suicide of Phoebe Prince, a Massachusetts girl, bullying has become cemented in public opinion as a growing epidemic. Measures rushed into place following these tragedies reinforce the sense of a spreading plague: today only two states, Montana and South Dakota, lack antibullying laws, and the White House has staged two antibullying conferences. The President has called on school districts to adopt antibullying policies, and his chief civil rights litigator,



Assistant Attorney General Thomas Perez, thundered at the second conference that "we're sailing into an undeniable head-wind of intolerance." So when the news of a teen gunman in Ohio broke, it was easy for many to jump to the conclusion that bullying had claimed more victims.

But as painful as bullying can be, and as horrlibe as its victime's cars may be, research suggests that the talk of an epidemic may be exaggerated. At the same time, some of the supposed remedies swiftly implemented in response to tragedies like Clementi's archaving unitended consequences. Some teachers feel forced to escalate routine playground spats into cases to present before school boards. And while tough sanctions against accused bullies are now everywhere, educators are divided on how effective they are at actually helping kids.

Statistics showing that bullying is a growing problem are contradictory at best. The U.S. Department of Justice has reported that 37% of students don't feel sale at school because of bullying. That figure, while disturbing, has remained stable over decades. And despite fears that cyberbullying via Facebook and Formspring has exploded, the Bureau of Justice Statistics' most recent figures, from 2007, show that only 3.0% of bullied students say when the same of the same o

Campaign limits Research shows bullying is often more complex than efforts like this sign at a school in Woodstock, Ga., would suggest

they were bullied outside school grounds.

Other numbers suggest that many students are both victims and victimizers. In a survey of 43,000 high school students completed in 2010, the Josephson Institute's Center for Youth Ethics found that 47% had "been bullied, teased or taunted" at school but that 50% had been bullies themselves. This suggests a lot of overlap between the two groups, meaning that the world isn't cleanly divided into bullies and victims. Psychologists have long known that those

who are brutalized are more likely to strike

back than mere bystanders. It's not always

easy for a teacher busy in the classroom to

distinguish the bullied from the tormented.

What's more, the zeal to stop bullies has resulted in vague statutes that have collided with the law of unintended consequences. In one notorious incident in New Jersey—whose stringent law requires any school employee, even a bus drive, to report any possible bullying incident within hours to a designated official who informs the school board—the parents of a kid at Beniamin Franklin Middle School who called



a fellow student a "retard" had to meet with school officials. Because of the antibullying law, the boy's insult had to be filed with the state's education department. If in a few years he applies to a state university, admissions officers will see the charge that he was a bully. Think the new law crosses the line because it is trying to legislate good manners," the superintendent of New Jersey's Central Regional School District, Trianners," the superinteded to flocal paper, Bridgewater's Courier News. "That is what a parents are supposed to be teaching."

The laws are costing schools even as recession-strapped states cut education budgets. Both for-profit and nonprofit companies offer antibullying packages that schools can adopt to meet the new legal expectations-for a fee. The largest antibullying company, the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program, charges thousands of dollars to large school districts that need to train educators to recognize and report warning signs of bullving, like repeated introverted behavior among possible victims. A common technique is to pair two kids who may have argued in the past and ask them to name something they like and something they dislike about the other person. Local firms have also entered the game. A New Jersey education consultancy, Strauss Esmay Associates, offers schools a \$1,295-minimum deal that provides a two-hour video, three hours of training for two staff members and a manual on preventing bullying.

Other programs, like the San Franciscobased nonprofit No Bully, offer cheaper services, but the financial toll on schools is neither trivial nor clear. The U.S. Department of Education collects no statistics on how much schools are spending to prevent bullying, and the many antibullying companies that have emerged in recent years haven't formed a trade group. Many officials have begun to fight the new rules. In January, New Jersey's independent budget authority ruled 7 to 2 that the new antibullying legislation violates the state's constitution because it provides no funding for local districts to meet its requirements. which include assigning an administrator who can initiate proceedings against alleged bullies within the required 24 hours. One township in rural Warren County. New Jersey, has claimed that the new law will cost \$6,000 even though the township has only 427 students.

#### How to Fix the Problem

AMID UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES AND wasted funds, what can we do to stop bullying? Dr. Stuart Twemlow, co-author of Who School Antibullving Programs Don't Workand a former Baylor College of Medicine professor. recommends targeting antibullying efforts at neither bullies nor victims but a third party: bystanders who watch bullying-either on Facebook or in the hallway-and either laugh or cringe but do nothing more. In a 2004 study of nine schools. Twemlow and a colleague found that schools that focus on punishing bullies and counseling victims report more violence than schools that engage bystanders-and their parents-in understanding that saying something about what you see isn't always tattling.

Many educators on the front lines agree. One school administrator who deals regularly with new forms of bullying is Robin Lowe, principal of the biggest middle school in Houston: Pershing, home of the Pandas, of Howhom there are 1,7500 an any given day. Lowe says that 'probably once a week' she meets with a parent clutching a printout showing Facebook wall posts that degrade one of her students.

Most of the time, it turns out that the kids have been engaged in typical middleschool feuds over breakups or hallway slights. Lowe, who has been a principal in middle schools for 25 years, has found that bullying incidents are rarely simple cases of cool kids attacking outcasts. Once she starts poking around, she says, "I can guarantee you that no one is an innocent on any of this Something has come before." Many of the same parents who burst into her office with Facebook primouts later have to meet with her to see the aggressive Facebook posts their own kids have written. Lowe says "99,9%" of parents on both sides of alleged bullying incidents are shocked to realize what their kids have written. The best way to stop bullying, she says, is to get bystanders to step up: post a Facebook message telling both sides to calm down, or grab a teacher when students in a hallway are scrawling obsentities on lockers.

Lowe also says that although many argue that the digital era has escalated bullying, she disagrees, just 20 years ago, a student might spray-paint "Whore" on a girl's locker. That insult might say up for days, to be seen by many students or be scrubbed instantly. Anonymous insults on Formspring aren't so different: they can be deleted in a matter of seconds.

# Antibullying consultants charge schools thousands of dollars for training and guides to make sure educators comply with the laws

All of this argues for administrators and parents to take a deep breath and evaluate the scope of an incident before responding. Politically, the issue is a winner for both Democrats and Republicans. Democrats can please liberal donors outraged by the Clementi suicide, and Republicans can proclaim tolerance at little cost. In New jersey, only one legislator voted against the tough antibullying law, and Governor Chris Christics gined it without hesitation.

No one who says the antibullying efforts are going to extremes would argue against kids' learning to treat one another with respect. But exaggerating the "gedemic" is taking its own kind of foll. Bureaucratic procedures can't substitute for teachers' and parents' showing kids that those who are bullied can become bullies themselves and that students can and should standup for one another. Most of us are both bully and victim. Bullying may be seen as less a contagion than an unfortunate fact of childhood. NATION

# **COLD**WARRIOR

Bill McKibben spent decades writing about climate change. Now he's working to cool the planet one pipeline at a time

BY BRYAN WALSH/RIPTON

ILL MCKIBBEN MISSES WINTER, THE 51-YEAR-OLD environmental writer turned unlikely activist is marching through a frosting of snow outside his Vermont home, dodging the jabbing branches of spruce trees. McKibben has lived in and around the Adirondack and Green mountains since leaving New York City some two decades ago, and he remembers winters sunk "with a cold so deep, the trees would snap at night." But not this year. Scientists are already predicting that this winter could be the warmest in recorded history in the Northeastern U.S. In its place-thanks in part to man-made climate change-is something different and likely more dangerous. As McKibben walks through the woods, on land originally owned by the poet Robert Frost, he recalls the damage inflicted on Vermont by Tropical Storm Irene, one of 12 record-breaking billion-dollar disasters that hit the U.S. last year. "The climate has already warmed 1° [Celsius], and if this is what 1° produces, more warming is going to be impossible to deal with," he says. "We can't let this happen. We won't let this happen."

McKibben has been writing about climate change for more than two decades, and for years he waited for the U.S. to get



serious about what he calls humanity's gravest threat. Finally, a few years ago, he grew tired of waiting and took action. With help from students at nearby Middlebury College, where he's a scholar-in-residence, McKibben launched 350.org, a digital activist group that organized climate rallies across the world, making him one of environmentalisms most powerful voices. "Bill has helped turn this movement around," asys environmentalist Faul Hawken.

Last year, McKibben helped lead bottompur resistance to the proposed Keystone XL pipeline, which would have brought carbon-heavy Canadian oil-sands crude through the upper Midwest to U.S. refineries. Most insiders considered the pipeline a done deal, but McKibben and his allies drew thousands of protesters to the White House—where McKibben himself was arrested—and helped pressure President Obama to reject the pipeline in January.

McKibben understands that his work has only just begun. One rejected pipeline won't stop climate change. And the oil industry, along with its mostly Republican allies, is already fighting back hard, ready to make Obama pay in November. Critics say McKibben doesn't understand politics. He responds that you can't negotiate scientific fact. While he admits that his vision of an Internet driven popular movement to save the planet might sound' haive, he also says nothing else has worked thus far. And time, he insists, is running out.

#### The Observer Gets Involved

MCKIBEN'S HOME SUITS THE IMAGE OF the quiet nature writer he was before becoming a star activist. An array of solar panels sits in his backyard—though McKibben's house isn't off the grid—and a 2003 Honda Civic hybrid rests in the garage. The house is heated by a wood burning firelpace, supplemented with, as McKibben puts it, "sweatest" By the door is gear for cross-country skiing, a pastime that has left him with an endurance athlete's spare physique. A yellow lab dozing by the fire-place completes the tranquil Sects the trangul Sects.

Born in California and raised in Toronto and Massachusetts, McKibben followed the path of his journalist father. He was hired fresh out of Harvard by then New Yorker editor William Shawn. It was a plum job that McKibben quit out of solidarity when Shawn was fired in 1987—not the last time McKibben acted on seemingly impractical principles. He and his wife, the writer Sue Halpern, moved to a cabin in the New York Adirondacks, where he wrote his first book, 1985 The End of Nature, about To build or not to build?

The proposed Keyston XL pipeline would have moved up to 830,000 barrels of oil-sands crude from Canada to refinerice in the IIS Greene relead concer about the climatic costs of the oil sands and the risk of a pipeline spill over the Ogallala aquife rotests prompted President Obama to shelve the pipeline for now, but Republicans are already making it a standard in campaign speeches and are likely to try to force Obama's hand on the measure as

gasoline prices rise.



climate change. The tone was grim, but he was still optimistic. "I assumed the system would swing into gear automatically to start solving the problem." he says.

That didn't happen, McKibben spent years watching with amazement as science was undermined by corporate interests threatened by the prospect of carbon cuts. He now realizes it was foolish to assume that Washington could be moved by science alone. McKibben is normally subdued, but when the conversation turns to the politics of climate, his voice rises and his eyes widen behind rimless glasses, "While the scientists were talking patiently into our leaders' ear, the fossil-fuel industry has been screaming into the other," he says. "We're no closer to dealing with climate change than we were in the late 1980s."

McKibben always assumed it was "someone else's responsibility" to translate his ideas into activism. But a reporting trip to Bangladesh several years ago changed his mind. The low-lying South Asian country is uniquely vulnerable to climate change, and while there, McKibben stricken by dengue fever—mused on the injustice of poor Bangladeshis suffering for the wealthy word's carbon habit. "If you try to measure the carbon footprint of Bangladesh, you'll barely get a number," he says. "There was this guilty part of me that said I had to do more."

So McKibben turned to organizing. With his close-cropped hair, he looks more like a monk than a leader, But he also has a talent for inspiration. "People just gravitate toward him because of his sense of storytelling and marrative," says Jamie Henn, a 3500 staffer. In the summer of 2006, McKibben led hundreds of people in a adverday walk across Vermont to demand carbon cuts, in what may have been the nation's biggest climate demonstration to date. He also began working with some Middlebury students who were using the Internet to Tally grassroots climate action.

Soon after, McKibben learned from NASA climatologist James Hansen about new research indicating that the world needed to stabilize the atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide at 350 parts

'We need to be more confrontational.

And that's where the tar sands come in.'

-B1LL MCK1BBEN



per million (p.p.m.) to avoid dangerous climate change. (We're already at 329 p.m., and counting). Atmospheric carbon concentration hardly makes for catchy protest slogans, but McKibben saw the number 350 as a clarion call, comprehensible to a global audience without translation. His Internet-savvy friends helped him take the idea worldwide. In October 2009, 3500 roganized more than 15,000 rollies in 180 countries. It was likely the biggest mass rally in history.

The success of 350.org changed Mc-Kibben's life, making him an activist first and a writer second. He now updates more than 30.000 Twiter followers and travels constantly to give lectures and attend protests. He's still figuring out life as a public figure. He answers all his e-mail, and 350.org only recently hired an assistant to book his travel. And he doesn't always refish it. He asks that TIME not photograph the exterior of the house because of death threats. "People seem to think you're going to take their freedom away," he says.

McKibben's fame intensified last year as he shifted his focus from the global picture to a specific project in America's backyard. When it came to the Keystone XL pipeline, he wasn't going to rely on thoughtful op-eds. "We need to be more confrontational," he says. "And that's where the tar sands come in."

### 'I don't see where the protests go from here. I'd worry it leads to a dead end.'

-MICHAEL LEVI, SENIOR FELLOW, COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. McKibben Goes to Washington

THE TAR SANDS-ALSO CALLED THE OIL sands-are an unconventional oil reserve in northern Alberta. They may hold nearly 200 billion barrels of recoverable oil, making it the world's biggest deposit outside Saudi Arabia. This would seem to be an energysecurity godsend, allowing the U.S. to replace crude from the unstable Middle East with oil from its friendly neighbor. But tapping the oil sands comes with an environmental cost. The mining scars landscapes and can threaten water supplies. Because it takes extra energy to process the oil sands, a barrel of oil-sands crude produces more carbon than conventional crude does. Hansen calculated that if the entire oil-sands reserve were mined and burned, the carbon output would mean "game over" for the climate.

Though Canada is already mining and selling oil-sands crude. McKibben saw the proposed Keystone XL pipeline-set to deliver up to 830,000 barrels aday to the U.S .as a crucial accelerator. More practically, because the cross-border pipeline required State Department approval, he saw an opportunity to confront Obama, who dropped an early climate-change agenda in the face of stiff resistance. In late August, McKibben. along with major environmental groups, helped organize days of protest around the White House. Over 12,000 people showed up, and hundreds were arrested. In November, Obama said he would delay a decision until 2013. But Republicans tacked a provision onto a payroll-tax-cut bill mandating that the White House decide on the pipeline within 60 days. In response, Obama decided in January to reject Keystone XL altogether. "You have to give Bill a lot of credit for pushing the pipeline issue to the forefront," says Gus Speth, former dean of the Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, who was also arrested in the protests.

Still, others question McKibberts priorities. Yes, the Alberta oil sands contain massive amounts of carbon. But its own contribution to warmin gis unlikely to be decisive. And if that crude is simply exported and burned in, say, China—as Canadian officials have pledged—the climate will be no cleaner. "It's unfair to focus just on oil sands," says Andrew Leach, a business professor at the University of Alberta.

Stopping the pipeline may also be a temporary victory. TransCanada, Keystone's builder, has already said it will reapply using a different route. Still, McKibben believes he can slow the development of the oil sands in time to change climate policy in the U.S. "We can build off the momentum of stopping this," he say.

But at what political cost? Republicans cite Keystone as evidence that Obama would rather "appease left-wing environmental activists in San Francisco," in Now Gingrich's words, than create jobs. (Trans-Canada claims Keystone would have created 20,000) bos. The State Department's estimate is more like 5,000) "I don't see where the protests go from here," says the Lack Levi, senior fellow for climate and energy at the Council on Foreign Relations." "I'd worry it leads to a dead end."

McKibben is done with waiting, howeven. "This isn't the life I thought I was setting out to have," he says as he walks back through Frost's woods. "But the only way to win is to spend our bodies on this, and we'll do that." And he won't mindif you call him naive, so long as you're paying attention. WORLD

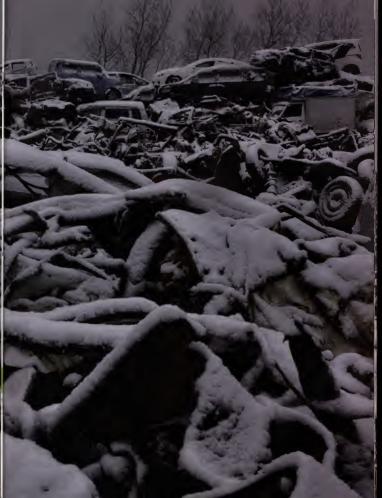
# JAPAN

**ONE YEAR LATER** 













## THE WATER HAS RECEDED. ONE YEAR AFTER NORTHEASTERN JAPAN WAS BATTERED BY A 9.0-MAGNITUDE EARTHQUAKE

and 130-ft. (40 m) tsunami waves, coastal villages where photographers captured haunting images of devastation now exude an eerie calm. Cars no longer dangle from the upper floors of tottering buildings. The twisted hulls of wrecked fishing trawlers have been hauled from downtown streets.

The extraordinary resilience and cohesion of Japanese society helped the nation cope with the unprecedented triple disaster—quake, Isunami, crippled nuclear reactors—that struck a year ago. At least 20,000 people died, with countless homes and livelihoods destroyed, many never to be rebuilt again. Naoto Kan, the hen Prime Minister, rightly described the March 11, 2011, shocks as Japan's greatest crisis since its defeat in World War II.

Because Japan has repeatedly rebounded from adversity, often to become more vital than before, many thoughtful Japanese (and non Japanese) believed last year's calamities would have a similarly cathartic effect, inspiring the country not only to revive the ravaged northeast but also to shake off decades of social and economic malaise. Yet, a year on, 3/r1 has not been that hoped-for catalyst. What's most remarkable about postcrisis Japan is how much it resembles precrisis Japan. The new normal is a foll like the old normal.

What's terrific about Japan—the orderliness of its cities, the sophistication of its technology, the refinement of its culture—remains. But so do the weak nesses. Japan's political system is as dysfunctional as ever and its economy still anemic, GDP shrank in the final quarter of zour at an annualized rate of 2.3%. The strong yen is hammering Japanese exporters. Storied electronics brands, including Sony, Panasonic and Sharp, say they expect combined losses of Styr billion in the current financial year ending March 31.

Even more worrying: postcrisis Japan seems no more willing than precrisis Japan to confront three deep-rooted—and interrelated—cultural challenges that pose a far greater threat to the nation's welfare than any earthquake or tsunami.

First, Japan's workforce is aging faster than any other society's The number of children born per Japanese woman is 139, far below the replacement ratio. Japan is losing a million people very year. The government has estimated that by 2066, Japan's 128 million population will shrink by a third, with more than in to Japanese and.

Tokyo already borrows more than twice the annual output of the economy, a debtto-GDP ratio worse than that of Greece or Italy. The debt is manageable because o5% of it is held by Japanese. But as more Japanese retire, they will draw down savings and demand more health and retirement benefits. Economists differ over how long Japan has until it must turn to foreign creditors, but in the absence of dramatic-and unlikely-tax increases, that day of reckoning will come. Gains in productivity would help greatly. But a society dominated by seniors is unlikely to be innovative, entrepreneurial or adaptable; it consumes rather than generates resources.

Second, women are marginalized, Japan's failure to integrate women into the workplace, fused with its aversion to immigration, compounds the economic consequences of a shrinking labor force. Only 65% of college-educated women are employed. Goldman Sachs in Tokyo calculates that if the figure could be boosted to match the 86% rate for men, Japan would add 8.z million workers and boost economic growth bu as much as 15%.

Finally, Japan's youth are too insular. Japan's biggest corporations once sent their best recruits to top U.S. universities to obtain M.B.A.s. Hardly any do so now. The number of Japanese students in the U.S. has declined sharply in recent years, even as ever more Asians, especially Chinese, study there. In Silicon Valley, which is flush with tech talent from Asia, particularly China and India, Japanese are practically nonexistent. The English proficiency of Japanese college graduates, as indicated by scores on the Test of English as a Foreign Language, is the lowest amone 27 Asian nations.

The Japanese can respond to crisis. After the catastrophe, volunteers poured into stricken areas to help. Millions more raised money for victims. Contribution boxes for relief funds remain a common sight in shops in Tokyo. No less impressive is the enthusiasm with which consumers and businesses have embraced the government's setsuden (save electricity) campaign to compensate for the suspension of nearly all Japan's 54 nuclear power plants. Homes and offices turn down air conditioners and switch off lights, Manufacturers have shifted production to weekends to ease strain on the grid. Possibly no other advanced industrial democracy is capable of such social cohesion in peacetime.

Kent Anderson, director of Australian National University's School of Culture, History and Language, describes the tendency to see rehitth emerging from disasters like last year's as "the phoenix trope." The alternative is that the 'yir calamities and their aftermath reflect the desperate final moments of a once gilded period of prosperity. Anderson finds both interpretations extreme, Japan, he believes, is like the literary gener authists, ir following the brush't random, abstract, with no clear narrative. Perhaps, But life its, Japan can only hope that brush traces a line to higher ground.—CLAY CHANDLER

Chandler, Asia editor for the consultancy McKinsey & Co., is a co-executive editor of the McKinsey project Reimagining Japan: The Quest for a Future That Works, a collection of essavs on Japan's future





 $More\ devastation\ in\ Rikuzentakata; workers\ cover\ bags\ of\ soil\ contaminated\ by\ radiation\ in\ nearby\ Fukushima\ prefecture,\ above$ 





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# 10 IDEAS THAT ARE CHANGING YOUR LIFE

Photograph by Jamie Chung for TIME

# LIVING ALONE IS THE NEW NORM

BY ERIC KLINENBERG

The extraordinary rise of solitary living is the biggest social change that we've neglected to identify, let alone examine.

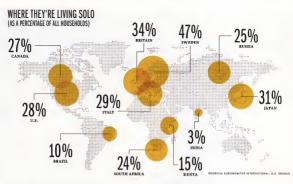
Consider that in 1950, a mere 4 million Americans lived alone, and they made up only 9% of households. Back then, going solo was

most common in the open, sprawling Western states—Alaska, Montana and Nevada—that attracted migrant workingmen, and it was usually a short-lived stage on the road to a more conventional domestic life.

Not anymore. According to 2011 census data, people who live alone—nearly 33 million Americans—make up 28% of all U.S. households, which means they are now tied with childless couples as the most prominent residential type, more common than the nuclear family. the multirenerational family and the







Solitary dwellers are provided to the U.S. being middle-aged adults from 35 to 64. In recent decades, young adults from 18 to 34 have been the fastest-growing segment of the singleton nonulation nonulation.

roommate or group home. These aren't just transitional living situations: over a five-year period, people who live alone are more likely to remain in their current state than anyone else except married couples with children. They're concentrated in big cities throughout the country, from Seattle to Miami, Minneapolis to New Orleans.

Living alone, being alone and feeling lonely are hardly the same, yet in recent years experts have routinely conflated them, raising fears that the rise of soloists signals the ultimate atomization of the modern world. The theme of declining communities entered popular culture with Bowling Alone, political scientist Robert D. Putnam's book, which was published in 2000. It argued that social splintering had diminished the quality of life in the U.S. More recently, in The Lonely American, Harvard psychiatrists Jacqueline Olds and Richard S. Schwartz warn that "increased aloneness" and "the movement in our country toward greater social isolation" are damaging our health and happiness. Their evidence: First, a widely disputed finding published in the American Sociological Review that from 1985 to 2004, the number of Americans who said they had no one with whom they discussed important matters had tripled, to nearly a quarter of the population. (One of the study's authors later acknowledged that there was a problem with the data and that the findings were unreliable.) Second, an interpretation: that the record number of people who live alone is a sign of how lonely and disconnected we have become.

In fact, there's little evidence that the rise of living alone is making more Americans lonely. Reams of published research show that it's the quality, not the quantity, of social interactions that best predicts loneliness. As University of Chicago social neuroscientist John T. Cacioppo concluded in the book he co-authored, Loneliness, what matters is not whether we live alone but whether we feel alone. There's ample support for this idea outside the laboratory. As divorced or side the laboratory. As divorced or

The truth is, nearly everyone who lives alone has other, less expensive options, from finding roommates to living with family. But today most people presented with those choices will opt to go solo. Wouldn't you?

After all, living alone serves a purpose: it helps us pursue sacred modern values—individual freedom, personal control and self-realization—that carry us from adolescence to our final days.

Living alone allows us to do what we want, when we want, on our own terms. It liberates us from the constraints of a domestic partner's needs and demands and permits us to focus on ourselves. Today, in our age

## Living alone helps us pursue sacred modern values—individual freedom, personal control and self-realization

separated people often say, there's nothing lonelier than living with the wrong person.

My research—which includes more than 300 interviews with people who live alone and careful scrutiny of the scientific literature on the social connections of solo dwellers—shows that most singletons are not lonely souls. On the contrary, the evidence suggests that péople who live alone compensate by becoming more socially active than those who live with others and that cities with high numbers of singletons enjoy a thriving public culture.

of digital media and ever expanding social networks, living alone can offer even greater benefits: the time and space for restorative solitude.

This means that living alone can help us discover who we are as well as what gives us meaning and purpose. Paradoxically, living alone might be exactly what we need to reconnect.

Klinenberg is a professor of sociology at New York University. His latest book, Going Solo: The Extraordinary Rise and Surprising Appeal of Living Alone, was published by the Penguin Press in February



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# YOUR HEAD IS N THE CLOUD



Inundated by more information than we can possibly hold in our heads. we're increasingly handing off the job

of remembering to search engines and smart phones. Google is even reportedly working on eyeglasses that could one day recognize faces and supply details about whoever you're looking at. But new research shows that outsourcing our memory-and expecting that information will be continually and instantaneously available-is changing our cognitive habits. Research conducted by Betsy

Sparrow, an assistant professor of psychology at Columbia University, and published last year in the journal Science has identified three new realities about how we process information in the Internet age. First, her experiments showed that when we don't know the answer to a question, we now think about where we can find the nearest Web connection instead of the subject of the question itself. For example, the query "Are there any countries with only one color in their flag?" prompted study participants to think not about flags but about computers.

A second revelation: when we expect to be able to find information again later on, we don't remember it as well as when we think it might become unavailable. Sparrow's subjects were asked to type facts into a computer-for example, "The space shuttle Columbia disintegrated during re-entry over Texas in February 2003." Half were told that their work would be saved: the rest were told that their words would be erased. Those who believed that the computer would store the information recalled details less well on their own. Sparrow compares their situation to one we all experience in the hyperconnected real world: "Since search engines are continually available to us, we may often be in a state of not feeling we need to encode the information internally. When we need it, we will look it up," Sound familiar?

The researchers' final observation: the expectation that we'll be able to locate information down the line leads us to form a memory not of the fact itself but of where we'll be able to find it, "We are learning what the computer 'knows' and when we should attend to where we have stored information in our computer-based memories," Sparrow and her colleagues concluded in their report. "We are becoming symbiotic with our computer tools."

Before you grow nervous about turning into a cyborg, however, you should know that this new symbiosis with our digital devices is really just a variant of a much more familiar phenomenon, what psychologists call transactive memory. This is the unspoken arrangement by which groups of people dole out memory tasks to each individual, with information

to be shared when needed. In a marriage, one spouse might remember the kids' after-school appointments while the other keeps track of the recycling-pickup schedule. In a workplace team, one member may be the designated number cruncher while a colleague is charged with remembering client preferences. The way we delegate to our computers is simply an extension of this principle-an instance of



Each day. the average American spends about 12 hours consuming information. taking in more than 100,000 words that total 34 gigabytes of data



transactive memory carried out on a very grand scale.

But this handoff comes with a downied. Skills like critical thinking and analysis must develop in the context of facts: we need something to think and reason about, after all. And these facts can't be Googled as we go; they need to be stored in the original hard drive, our long-term memory. Especially in the case of children, "factual knowledge must

precede skill," says Daniel Willingham, a professor of psychology at the University of Virginia—meaning that the days of drilling the multiplication table and memorizing the names of the Presidents aren't over quie yet. Adults, too, need to recruit a supply of stored knowledge in order to situate and evaluate new information they encounter. You can't Google context.

Last, there's the possibility, in-

creasingly terrifying to contemplate, that our machines will fail us. As Sparrow puts it, "The experience of losing our Internet connection becomes more and more like losing a friend." If you're going to keep your memory on your smart phone, better make sure it's fully charged.

Paul, a columnist for TIME Ideas and the author of Origins, is working on a book on the science of learning



# HANDPRINTS, NOT FOOTPRINTS

BY DANIEL GOLEMAN



the chips had 14 g of fat. Worse, they had caused 75 g of carbon to be released into the atmosphere.

That bag called my attention to my carbon footprint; those 75 g. added to the 2.3 million from the plane I took there and back, plus the total of all the carbon impactsthe emissions into the air that contribute to global warming-of everything else I do and buy. Foot-

a positive impression. A more encouraging way to conceptualize our impact is by our handprints: the sum total of all the reductions we make in our footprints. When she bought my plane ticket, my travel agent also paid for a carbon offsetplanting trees in a deforested region-as a boost to my handprint.

Handprints are the brainchild of Gregory Norris, a lecturer at the Harvard School of Public Health. Norris was dismayed to find that his Harvard students, after learning how to calculate LCAs, would say the planet would be better off if they had not been born, "LCA was

confirm ways we intend to enlarge it, with a Facebook status update about the actions. Bonus: if vour friends make the same move (like boosting fuel efficiency by inflating tires to the correct pressure or saving paper by printing two-sided documents) because they learned it from you, your handprint increases too. The more people you recruit, the bigger your handprint. Handprints can also be grouped, and Norris envisions a day when families, schools and clubs, companies and citiesmaybe even nations-could compete on the size of their handprints.

Elke Weber, a cognitive scientist at Columbia University's Business School and Earth Institute, says the handprint might remedy a major reason so few people move from awareness of global warming to ongoing action. When folks harp on the harm we do to the planet, we feel bad and want to do something to feel better-and then we tune out. But if we have a positive goal in mind that we can take small, manageable steps toward, we feel good-and are more likely to keep going. Step by step by hand

Goleman is the author of many books. including Emotional Intelligence

### A more encouraging way to conceptualize our impact is our handprints: the sum of all the reductions we make in our footnrints

print math uses life-cycle assessment, or LCA, which calculates the amount of carbon released over the entire life history of those chips, from planting the potatoes to tossing the empty bag into the trash.

While our footprints are a significant measure we've all been getting used to, they do not tell the whole story. We don't just trample the planet; we also sometimes leave

bringing nothing but bad news," says Norris, "telling us every person hurts the planet every day. Something was missing-that we can also benefit the planet. I needed to name these benefits to make them as tangible as footprints. Handprints was a natural choice."

Norris has set up a website, handprinter.org, that lets us calculate our handprint and pledge or

would add

up to over



In the tiny coastal town of La Misión on Mexico's Baia peninsula, dozens of American expats meet for

a Sunday gathering they call Not Church, Many of them long ago gave up on traditional religious institutions. But they function as a congregation often does-engaging one another in spiritual conversation and prayer, delivering food when someone is sick and working together to serve the poor.

On a recent Sunday the group, which began as a monthly discussion about a year ago, featured a sunny-haired ordained Presbyterian named Erin Dunigan delivering a sermon about tomatoes and God's call to Samuel, (Organized religion, she told them, can be like supermarket tomatoes-flavorless and tough. That isn't a reason to give up on religion, or tomatoes, but instead to find a fresh, local version worth cultivating.) "It was beautiful," Dunigan says. "The people who don't want anything to do with the church or religion were the people who were leading everyone else in the service."

These expats provide an example of a very American trend: turning away from organized religion and yet seeking rich if unorthodox ways to build spiritual lives. The fastest-growing religious group in the U.S. is the category of people who say they have no religious affiliation. Sometimes called "the nones" by social scientists, their numbers have more than doubled since 1990; major surveys put them at 16% of the population. But as the Not Church community shows, many of those who have given up on organized religion have not given up on faith.

Only 4% of Americans identify as atheist or agnostic.

Diana Butler Bass's new book Christianity After Reliaion notes that the past decade has been particularly challenging for organized religion in the U.S., from the Catholic sex-abuse scandal to the entanglement of faith in heated political campaigns-resulting in a "sort of 'participation crash.'" Nearly every

they were still hoping to eventually find the right religious home."

That resonates with Dunigan. 40, who acts as a sort of unofficial chaplain for the Not Church members, "My sense is that for most, they're not rejecting God," she says. "They're rejecting organized religion as being rigid and dogmatic."

The U.S. has a long tradition of producing spiritual innovators and entrepreneurs. Today they're the organizers in the emergent-church movement, an effort by younger Christian leaders (there's a similar movement among Jews) to take religion away from musty pews and fierce theological fights by creating small worship communities that

"For most, they're not rejecting God," says Erin Dunigan, "They're rejecting organized religion as being rigid and dogmatic.

religious tradition has suffered. Even some megachurches, which pride themselves on marketing to people turned off by traditional religion, have floundered.

But the hunger for spiritual connection and community hasn't gone away. A 2009 survey by the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life asked respondents whether they believed in God, how often they prayed and whether they were affiliated with a particular religion: it found that "40% of the unaffiliated people were fairly religious," says director Luis Lugo. "Many said

often meet in members' homes. For traditional religious institu-

tions, the challenge is how to adapt to this trend rather than fight it.

Dunigan has the support of the Presbyterian Church, which agreed to ordain her as an "evangelist," a designation rarely used these days for clergy serving Americans, That ordination is already affecting the views of her ad hoc congregation. Says Dunigan: "It allows the folks that I spend time with to say, 'If organized religion is willing to try something new, maybe I should give organized religion a chance."



called "nones" by some-has more than doubled in the U.S. since 1990 to 16% of the population





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## **FOOD**

**THAT** 

LASTS

**FOREVER** 

Want to shop once a month? New techniques can keep meals fresh longer—much longer





BY DEBORAH BLUM



In his basement of-

fice at the University of Wisconsin. Rich Hartel lines up the failures. The 10-year-old iar of marshmallow crème in which the

corn syrup settled into a thick amber pool at the bottom. The two-year-old petrified Peeps, "I have some onevear-old Twinkies at the back of my cabinet," offers Hartel, a professor of food science. Contrary to popular belief that they're immortal. Twinkies are designed for no more than a four-week shelf life, and they tend to become more chewy than soft after the first week. The fact is that most desserts-barring, famously (or infamously), fruitcake-devolve into a sticky wad of starch in a depressingly short time.

At least for now, Scientists like Hartel are working to change that, with some startling recent success. A new generation of food-preservation technologies is starting to transform how long we can keep food tasting fresh, exponentially increasing its life span. NASA recently reported that it has come up with bread pudding that can last a solid four years. Over at the Pentagon, there's pound cake that stays springy for up to five years. And that's just the desserts. Long-lasting entrées and side dishes are being concocted, with enormous implications: in the future we may have to go to the grocery store only once a month and will rarely, if ever, need to throw out food because it has gone bad. Further, if fruits and vegetables can be better preserved, food scientists hope they will become less expensive and more available for people on limited budgets.

Consumers are already taking advantage. Tuna in those vacuumsealed pouches that started popping up in stores a few years ago tastes fresher than canned tuna and has a similar shelf life, about 21/4 years. Foodmakers had conquered one part of the equation. Spam is famously imperishable-but palate-wise, it's practically in a category of its own and not a likely standard bearer for fresh-tasting, everyday meals,

Though Spam is sold with an expiration date two years in the future. Phil Minerich, vice president of research at Hormel, says that actually underestimates its durability, "We really put that on there to help the consumer move it through," he says. "We don't want it to be sitting on the shelf for 12, 15 years." But, he adds. a well-sealed can of Spam would remain edible that long, if not longer.

The new food preservationists aren't just after longevity; they're reaching for a different standard of edibility, "In the last decade, there's been an evolution in the way we think of long-lasting foods," says Lauren Oleksyk, leader of the foodprocessing, engineering and technol-

There are three big challenges to making food with a long life span. and a sandwich presents all of them: controlling moisture, controlling atmosphere and controlling microorganisms, from bacteria to mold. (Many traditional food-preservation techniques, such as drying and salting, work because they kill microorganisms or limit their growth.) Oleksyk's team members needed to keep liquids from the sandwich filling from seeping into the bread, so they mixed water-absorbing ingredients including glycerol and sorbitol into the filling. They also increased the use of fine, edible polymer films, which are undetectable in the mouth. (Hartel notes that in desserts.

"We're not just talking about long-term space missions," says John Floros of Penn State. "We're talking about survival here on earth."

ogy team at the U.S. Department of Defense Combat Feeding Directorate.

Much of the new technology stems from the military's need for long-lasting food for troops, packaged as MREs (meals, ready to eat)rations that have never been famous for tasting good. In 2002, Oleksyk and her colleagues introduced their first alternative option, an "indestructible" sandwich: a bread envelope stuffed with pepperoni or barbecued chicken, designed to last three to five years without refrigeration at standard room temperature.

THE "INDESTRUCTIBLE" SANDWICH

chocolate is often used as a moisture barrier. His favorite example is the Twix, designed so that chocolate separates the dry cookie from the moist peanut butter or caramel inside.)

The supersandwich also limits exposure to oxygen, which accelerates chemical changes in food, by tucking packets of oxygen-scavenging chemicals in the outer wrapping. And the packaging is as impervious as possible, with layers of heat-resistant polypropylene and metal foil.

But the most important advance may be innovative ways of

The filling has water-

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JAVIER SHYERT FOR

absorbing ingredients that moisture damage

preservation. we could fall short of feeding population expected to top 7 billion this year

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controlling bacteria, like a newly refined method of high-pressure processing (HPP), which greatly improves taste. The old method of sterilization requires 30 minutes of 250°F (121°C) heat, and as any cook knows, every hot minute changes the food. With HPP, food is sealed in a plastic pouch, placed in a chamber and subjected to 87,000 lb. of pressure per so, in., effectively killing any bacteria. The makers of some commercially available lunch meats. like Hormel's Natural Choice line, already rely on high-pressure processing rather than chemical preservatives. Companies that handle delicate seafood products like raw oysters are also adopting the approach. Oleksyk says the technique may soon allow the military to offer sandwiches stuffed with ingredients like tuna salad and mayonnaise.

"It's night and day compared to the old heating process," Oleksyk says. "The foods taste like they're freshly prepared." The Defense Department hopes to introduce packaged HPP fruit that will retain its crispness for at least three years in a way that cannot be achieved by canning. Oleksyk's goal is to eventually create meals that can last up to 10 years. That would meanespecially if combat rations continue to be delivered on the standard three-to-five-year schedule-that there would never be a point when the food didn't taste fresh, she says. "They wouldn't have any idea how old it actually was."

Oleksyk admits that these are still mostly dreams of the future, but researchers at NASA have also been pushing the boundaries of old-time heat treatment. A report published in December in the Journal of Food Science offered a detailed portrait of the outer limits of shelf stability for heat-treated, or thermostabilized, foods. The report was based on a three-year study of 13 foods, including vegetable side dishes (carrot coins, three-bean salad), pork chops, vegetable omelettes and apricot cobbler. Once processed and packaged, the foods were stored at Johnson Space Center and tastetested on a regular basis over the three years. They remained edible for a surprising length of time, although they had clearly aged, turning darker and changing in texture. "We tested a tuna-fish casserole." says lead author Michele Perchoprovided by the military, these and similar products feed victims of everything from earthquakes and bilzards to drought. What's more, frozen- and chilled-food sections are expensive for grocers. In a future when energy supplies may be increasingly limited, researchers suggest, investment in food preservation looks like a smart move.

That's one of the main messages in a recent analysis titled 'Feeding the World Today and Tomorrow' from the Chicago-based Institute of Food Technologists. The lead author, John Floros, head of the food-science department at Penn State University, says that without good food preservation, we could

"It's night and day compared to the old heating process. The foods taste like they're freshly prepared," says the U.S. Defense Department's Lauren Oleksyk

nok, a food scientist at the center's Habitability and Environmental Factors Division. "The pasta got soft, but the tuna held up very well."

The best results consistently came from meat products, she says. For instance, extrapolating from its three-year study, the agency calculated that grilled pork chops could remain edible for nearly seven years and tuna or salmon for close to eight years (far longer than desserts, which had shelf lives of "to five years). She attributes the durability of meats mostly to their tough protein fibers.

Ultimately, long-lasting foods could have global impact. We rely on shelf-stable foods after disasters and when electricity fails. After Hurricane Katrina in 2005, many Gulf Coast residents subsisted on MREs fall short of meeting the needs of a global population expected to top 7 billion this year. The problem, he says, is that we lose too much food to rot and decay. In developing countries without sophisticated food-distribution and cooling systems, the loss is consistently 30% a year and in some places as high as 70%. He expects such challenges to increase, along with uncertainties in food production related to projected global climate change. Floros works with NASA on its foodstability projects, but "we're not just talking about long-term space missions," he says flatly. "We're talking about survival here on earth."

Blum is a science writer and the author of The Poisoner's Handbook

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will
consumers
bite? Better
taste and
texture are
critical for
makers to
change the
way people
think about
preserved
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BY TOURÉ

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sinners in the Mational Church of Holy Blackness. In a new book, How to Be Black, the author is deeply concerned with blackness but is irreverent about our sacred identity and maybe even willing to give up the secrets of our religion. It is written by a church member who doesn't care: Baratunde Thurston, a comic who writes for the Onion, which loves sliving up sacred cows into burgers of funny. (He opens the chapter on his genealogy by savine, "My family has been black

Blackness is, for

some, religious.

There are sacra-

ments, saints and

for a long, long time.") But more than just making jokes, Thurston is tapping into what one might call black irony.

Thurston's life has been sterotypically black in some ways. His father was killed while buying drugs, a tragic cliché. But it has also challenged stero-types. He graduated from Harvard, where he majored in philosophy, and can often be found lecturing at technology conferences. This sort of dichotomy is increasingly common, and it confers an independence from the groupthink that still lurks in the pews of the Church of Blackness. That independence has contributed to the flowering of black iron. There



to celebrate Black History Month, he suggests using an image of slavery as a screensaver: "When your friends or co-workers ask you why you have a picture on your screen of slaves working the fields, you should smugly reply, 'I believe in honoring the people who made America possible, don't you?"

I see this postmodern black irony in the work of Dave Chappelle's legendary Chappelle's Show, whose sketch about outtakes from Roots gave us actors playing actors playing slaves and screwing up, so we're laughing not at slavery but the failed attempt to solemnly portray slavery for TV. I also see it in the brilliant work of the visual artist Kara Walker, whose massive black-and-white images give us the sex and violence of slavery in gory detail, as if summoned from nightmares. Like Chappelle, she is talking not about slavery but about our response to it and how it sits in the contemporary collective mind.

I see black irony in the Web series Black Folk Don't by filmmaker Angela Tucker, which questions the notion of black normative behavior and comes to the conclusion that black folk don't agree on what blacks do and don't do. I see it in the iconography of Nicki Minai, who, far from being "authentic," plays an over-the-top character. I see it in NBA star Kevin Durant's penchant for nerd chic, wearing glasses and a schoolboy backpack and thereby taking the air out of the black male imperative to always be masculine. tough and cool.

There's so much black irony in the cultural air that certain bold white auteurs are playing with it. On 30 Rock, Tina Fey gives us a black Harvard-educated character called Toofer (reminiscent of the uppermiddle-class black kid on South Park who's called Token) and occasionally puts whites in blackface and blacks in whiteface. It's a circus of irreverence, Quentin Tarantino is also ironic with blackness and black film style. Jackie Brown was his attempt to make a modernized blaxploitation film. His upcoming

Django Unchained will give us a free slave out for revenge (as opposed to, say, The Help, which is highly unironic and pretends to be as realistic as a documentary while giving us a sanitized Disneyfication

of segregation). Black irony's imperative to use blackness in independent ways responds to the mind-bending complexity of modern blackness, which is so diverse that it's impossible to wrap your head around all at once. It's a cavalcade of contrasts that offers no clarity as it serves up the spirit-lifting success of Barack Obama and the moral failure of Tiger Woods. We are the class of Michelle Obama and the crass of Nene Leakes. We are Spike Lee and Tyler Perry. We are Derek leter and Barry Bonds. We are Beyoncé and Waka Flocka Flame. The DuBoisian double consciousness has never been stretched wider or thinner.

All this at a moment when racism seems to have gained the ability to become invisible at will, so that some routinely challenge its very existence. While our parents battled oppression, we're left to explain that racism is still present to skeptical people who continue to benefit from white privilege but struggle to see how. Black irony also stems from the affirmative-action generation's not having to battle over de jure civil rights. We were never at war in the streets like black America's Greatest Generation: the civil rights-black power generation. That creates a dislocation from the trauma of the past and leads to a wry or ironic relationship to some of that past pain, even though we know all too well that it is not entirely past. Which is part of why we sometimes need to deconstruct conventions and be irreverent about blackness. Sometimes we simply want to feel free to be independently black rather than worship at the altar. And sometimes we need to laugh to keep from having our heads explode.

Touré is the author of Who's Afraid of Post-Blackness? and a columnist for TIME Ideas

Month

figure it. It's about challenging and rejecting the notion of a hegemonic blackness. It's also about the relationship many blacks have with our past. Black history is filled with pain. Black irony admits that but seeks to reclaim the emotional response to those painful images and gain power over them. It says, I respect my ancestors, but I don't have to cry every time they're mentioned. In Thurston's list of 10 ways

is black comedy-Chris Rock-

and black satire like In Living Color.

But black irony is an outgrowth of

ing blackness as a text to comment

on and perhaps critique or recon-

Black irony is about people us-

postmodernism.

BY JUDITH WARNER



What if the good life isn't really ... all that good?

What if the very things so many of us strive for—a high-paying, powerful job; a beautiful house; a wardrobe of nice clothes in desirably small

nice clothes in desirably small sizes; and a fancy education for our children to prep them for carrying on this way of life—turn out to be more trouble than they're worth?
It's long been believed that

the psychological burdens associated with being a "low-status individual"—i.e., poor—grow lighter as people move up the so-cial ladder. It furns out that's true only to a point. Once you get high enough, the mental and physical health benefits associated with greater affluence fade away. In fact, research indicates that as you near the top, life stress increases so dramatically that its toxic effects essentially cancel out many positive aspects of succeeding.

Scott Schieman, a professor of sociology at the University of To-ronto, has a phrase for this: "the stress of high status." In 2005 and again in 2007, he surveyed 1,800 Americans of all income levels and is now extending his research to more than 6,000 Canadians. What he found turns received sociological wisdom on itsear: "People with higher levels of education and in higher-status occupations and

mid-to-higher income brackets are experiencing higher levels of stressors," he says.

Why? The very trappings of success can make life harder if you're the sort of driven, work-devoted person that high-status individuals tend to be. Take being able to set your own hours or work from home on occasion: it can be a dream for many but a nightmare for the hard chargers who feel compelled to answer every single e-mail, text or phone message, no matter when it comes or where they happen to be, says Mary Blair-Loy, founding director of the Center for Research on Gender in the Professions at the University of California at San Diego, who is currently researching workaholic men.

house, as well as raising the attractive, athletic, community-sering kids who will get into Harvard. In high-status communities, this can feel less like a choice than a requirement—part of what's needed to retain credibility. "You have to wear the right suit to work. You have to live in the right neighborhood, or else people won't take you seriously," says Blair-Lox.

Millions of Americans struggling to make ends meet would probably be glad to trade—eye, sociologists say, there's a moral here. Be careful what you wish for. "It takes a lot of energy to keep your weight down and your house looking nice and still be working all those hours," asys Marybeth Mattingly, a sociologist and director of research at the Carsey Institute at the University of New Hampshire. "Of course, the working poor have stressors too—they're just different kinds of stressors."

It was thought at its start that the recession might recenter people on friends and family instead of status. But sociologists say the fear of loss and failure has just made the drive for status more intense. Being on call 14/7 now isn't a lifestyle choice; it's a survival strategy, interestingly, they younger workers in Schieman's ongoing Canadian study report being considerably less stressed than their middle-aged and older colleagues. Having been habituated to



workers in high-achieving occupations are often less stressed than their older colleagues, who remember the days when answering work e-mails and texts was not a 24/7 obligation

#### As you near the top, life stress increases so dramatically that its toxic effects essentially cancel out many positive aspects of succeeding

Another supposed perk that can be punishing: power. Having authority over others binds people to all sorts of interpersonal conflicts and management turmoil, leading to "off the charts" stress, Schieman says. "This is the stuff that literally keeps people up at night."

And then there are all the small details sociologists call "microimpression-management activiies": getting the right clothes, the right haircut and the big-enough today's all-demanding professional culture and having no memories of a time when work generally stayed at the office, they're desensitized, Schieman believes. "In the future, a lot of this actually may just be a normative part of everyday life, so it'll be less stressful, less disruptive and less problematic," he says.

Warner is a columnist for TIME Ideas and the author of Perfect Madness: Motherhood in the Age of Anxiety





# PRIVACY



Walking the streets of New York City in 1949, E.B. White observed that a person could find the

More than 60 years later, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that White's paradox may literally be true. On Jan. 23, the court said the FBI violated the Fourth Amendment's guarantee against unreasonable search and seizure when it used global-positioning-system signals to track a suspected drug dealer for four weeks without a valid warrant. even though the cops monitored only where the suspect went on public streets. Thanks to that decision, for the first time in American history there is now a legal right to

privacy in public.

How much privacy? That's still in flux. In the GPS-tracking case. the Justices couldn't decide how much protection the Constitution gives Americans in public: they could agree only that the FBI had gone too far. But cases are coming up that will define the new privacy more clearly, and state and federal officials are working to fill in the contours.

In a pending case from Texas, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals will decide whether the police have the right to search, without a warrant. lected and stored as never before. The McKinsey Global Institute recently estimated that 15 out of 17 sectors of the U.S. economy have more data stored per company than does the Library of Congress, and in the U.S. health care market alone. there is potentially \$300 billion in annual value to be squeezed from those vast stores, McKinsey says. The upshot: much of this information from our daily interactions with retailers, communications companies and service providers is available not only to private companies that can make money off it but to law enforcement as well

In the GPS case, the Supreme Court Justices found two things to worry about. First, they were

safety or to save time or money. The law is still largely on the cops' side.

Five Supreme Court Justices found in the GPS-tracking case that it was Americans' expectations of privacy that would define what privacy should be: if you and most of your friends are comfortable revealing details of your daily life in public, you'll be setting the legal bar for privacy low. And the fact is, Americans do want some of what they're getting in exchange for technology's intrusion into their private lives. Anyone who's avoided a rush-hour bottleneck thanks to traffic-monitoring software can see the benefit of instant analysis of shared GPS signals. Airport body scanners aside, the post-9/11 era has seen the growing use of technologies like security cameras and facial recognition in public places, with little backlash from citizens.

Still, as the Supreme Court suggests, drawing lines is important because the data banks keep swelling, making their contents irresistible to some. In December a company called Carrier IQ said the FBI had asked for access to data the company collects from software installed on more than 141 million cell phones, including what numbers and text the owners type in and where the phones, and their owners, go. On Jan. 19, the FBI's Strategic Information and Operations Center asked tech companies how much it would cost to build software that would search, monitor and report on individuals using Twitter, Facebook, Myspace and other websites. The FBI is rolling out facial-recognition software to check individuals against criminal databases; the Department of Homeland Security already uses facial recognition at major public events like the Super Bowl.

Once outsiders can use that data to create what Chief Justice John Roberts called a "mosaic" of who you are, the pressure for safeguards may grow. All the technology is delivering to us in public not just the gift of privacy E.B. White wrote about but the right to it as well.

#### There is now a legal right to privacy in public spaces for the first time in American history, thanks to a recent Supreme Court decision

historical data from cell-phone companies showing the movements of phones' owners. Senator Al Franken of Minnesota has introduced a bill that would limit what wireless carriers can do with GPS data, "People have a fundamental right to control their private information," Franken said. On Feb. 22, the White House unveiled privacy guidelines meant as a blueprint for legislators and companies struggling to agree on how and when Americans can be tracked in public on the Internet.

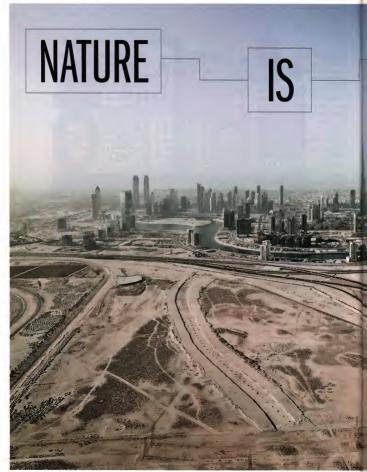
The idea that we have any privacy in public is new. Over the years, the courts have found that Americans voluntarily gave up their Fourth Amendment protections almost as soon as they left their homes: garbage dropped at the curb was fair game for the cops. and-though you may not have contemplated your phone company's sharing its files-information given openly to businesses was deemed public knowledge too. But now, as cell phones, GPS devices and Web browsers generate massive amounts of digital information about us and make it available to others, the minute details of what used to be our private lives are col-

concerned about how much information was being collected. The government's ability to track citizens "24 hours a day anyplace you go that's not your home" without a warrant necessarily breached Americans' "expectation of privacv." Justice Elena Kagan said in oral arguments in the GPS case. Four other Justices agreed, including the conservative George W. Bush appointee Samuel Alito, Justice Sonia Sotomayor went further, saving Americans aren't worried just about how much information about them is collected but also who gets access to it, even if they appear to waive their right to keep it private. "I for one doubt that people would accept without complaint the warrantless disclosure to the Government (by an Internet-service provider of a list of every Web site they had visited in the last week, or month, or year," Sotomayor wrote

The Justice Department and other law-enforcement officials argue that once cops have probable cause to think a crime is being committed in public, they shouldn't have to get a warrant; in any case, they say, most Americans are happy to give up their privacy in exchange for



On Jan. 19 the FBI asked tech companies about developing software that could monitor nublic traffic on Twitter. Facebook and Myspace



## **OVER**

Little is left untouched by humans—and that demands a rethink of environmentalism

BY BRYAN



9

On Feb. 5, a team of Russian scientists in Antarctica made history. Working on and

off for nearly a decade in the inhospitable climate. the researchers, who had been drilling through two miles (3.2 km) of solid ice, finally reached their goal: the subglacial Lake Vostok, whose liquid water had been sealed off from light and air for up to 34 million years. The lake could contain previously unknown forms of microbes, and because the water's temperature and chemical makeup resemble the environment found on Europa, one of Jupiter's icy moons. Lake Vostok may even help us understand how life could exist on other planets. But the Vostok expedition is also extraordinary because it enabled scientists to reach a part of the planet that had never before been touched by human beings. Lake Vostok was one of the very few truly pristine places on earth in 2012, and now we're starting to tinker with it too.

For a species that has been around for less than 1% of 1% of the earth's 4.5 billion-year history. Homo sapiens has certainly put its stamp on the place. Humans have had a direct impact on more than three-quarters of the ice-free land on earth. Almost 90% of the world's plant activity now takes place in ecosystems where people play a significant role. We've stripped the original forests from much of North America and Europe and helped push tens of thousands of species into extinction. Even in the vast oceans, among the few areas of the planet uninhabited by humans, our presence has been felt thanks to overfishing and marine pollution. Through artificial fertilizers-which have dramatically increased food production and, with it, human populationwe've transformed huge amounts of nitrogen from an inert gas in our atmosphere into an active ingredient in our soil, the runoff from which has created massive aquatic dead

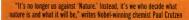
zones in coastal areas. And all the CO<sub>2</sub> that the 7 billion-plus humans on earth emit is rapidly changing the climate—and altering the very nature of the planet.

Human activity now shapes the earth more than any other independent geologic or climatic factor. Our impact on the planet's surface and atmosphere has become so powerful that scientists are considering changing the way we measure geologic time. Right now we're officially living in the Holocene epoch, a particularly pleasant period that started when the last ice age ended 12,000 years ago. But some scientists argue that we've broken into a new epoch that they call the Anthropocene: the age of man. "Human dominance of biological, chemical and geological processes on Earth is already an undeniable reality," writes Paul Crutzen, the Nobel Prize-winning atmospheric chemist who first popularized the term Anthropocene. "It's no longer us against 'Nature.' Instead, it's we who decide what nature is and what it will be "

Humans have been changing the planet ever since the dawn of agriculture 10,000 years ago, when Homo sapiens began altering the land—and the plants and animals growing on it—rather than simply living as hunters and gatherers. Agriculture enabled humans to proliferate and literally changed the face of the planet; today 38% of the earth's ice-free land has been cleared and cultivated for farming but it wasn't until the dawn of the Industrial Revolution around 1800 huntary many count and the many count and

"more bacterial than primate." Today the total human biomass is a hundred times as great as that of any other large animal species that has ever walked the earth. That growth has been aided by the use of fossil fuels as humans have learned to tap coal, oil and natural gas, which has steadily warmed the atmosphere

and further altered the planet. After World War II we added nuclear power to the mix—making radioactive fallout one more physical mark of our presence—and global population and economic expansion went into overdrive. The change has been so rapid that scientists have dubbed the past half-century the Great Acceleration—and this period shows little sign of slowing as economic growth and improved health care extends the



on the environment began to explode, and that's the moment when many scientists believe the Anthropocene truly began.

Since then our ranks have ballooned from 1 billion to 7 billion, a rate of reproduction that biologist E.O. Wilson has characterized as life spans and turbocharges the resource use of billions of people in the developing world.

That's why the Anthropocene demands a dramatic change for environmentalism. Since the days of John Muir—the 19th century Scottish-American naturalist who



Humans have had a direct impact on more than three-quarters of the ice-free land on earth. Almost 90% of plant activity takes place in ecosystems where people play a

significant role



Nearly one-fifth of vertebrate species are threatened. Conservationists may be winning the battle for nature preserves and losing the war

for wildlife



founded the Sierra Club—the goal of environmentalism has been the preservation of wilderness. Muit fought to create some of the U.S.'s first national parks, in Yosemite and the sequoia forest, with the aim of protecting untrammeled nature from human activity. People were seen as a threat to wilderness and to naturalness, and isolation was regarded as the solution.

By some measures, conservationists have succeeded. There are more than 100,000 protected areas around the world, compared with fewer than 10,000 in 1950, and approximately 13% of the planet's landmass has some form of legal protection. But we're still losing old-growth forests in Africa, Asia and Latin America, while species are going extinct at a rate that is beginning to compare to the great die-offs of the past. Nearly one-fifth of existing vertebrate species are threatened, and if climate change continues unabated, that number will surely grow. In other words, conservationists may be winning the battle for protected areas and losing the war for wildlife.

The reality is that in the Anthropocene, there may simply be no room for nature, at least not nature as we've known and celebrated it—something separate from hu-

man beings—something pristine. There's no getting back to the Garden, assuming it ever existed. For environmentalists, that will mean changing strategies, finding methods of conservation that are more people friendly and that allow wildlife to coexist with human development. It means, if not embracing the human influence on the planet, at least accepting it.

Right now the U.S. government spends hundreds of millions of dollars a year trying to uproot invasive species like the Burmese python in Florida and the Asian carp in Illinois, desperately working to restore or at least maintain "natural" ecosystems, even though there's growing evidence that nature is much more resilient than we have thought. As evidence, look to the ozone layer, the tear that our chlorofluorocarbons ripped in the sky over Antarctica started to shrink in 2011, years after those chemicals were phased out in most countries.

But managing the Anthropocene will necessitate more than simply banning certain pollutants or activities. It will also mean promoting the sort of technology that environmentalists have often opposed, from nuclear power—still the biggest carbon-free utility-scale energy source, despite the risk

of accidents and the problem of radioactive-waste disposal-to genetically modified crops that could allow us to grow more food on less land, saving precious space for wildlife. It will mean privileging cities. because dense urban developments turn out to be the most sustainable and efficient settlements on the planet. And if we prove unable to quickly reduce greenhouse-gas emissions, we may be required to consciously fiddle with the climate through geoengineering, using artificial clouds or other planetaryscale technology to reduce the earth's temperature directly.

Of course, humans have been effectively geoengineering the planet for centuries. We were just doing it unconsciously, as a by-product of our relentless expansion. Humans aren't even the first species to create change on a planetary scale. The earth's atmosphere is oxygenated because cyanobacteria helped produce that gas more than 2 billion years ago. But even though cyanobacteria weren't conscious of what they were doing, we are, or at least we should be. Our ability to comprehend the full extent of the human impact on earth puts us in a unique position as planetary gardeners, a responsibility we have no choice but to take on. We have been lucky for much of our species' existence, blessed by the comfortably warm climate of the Holocene, able to spread our growing numbers across a seemingly limitless planet.

But that age is over, replaced by the uncertainty of the Anthropocene, whether geologists decide to formally call it that or not. We'll decide whether human beings continue to thrive or flame out. taking the planet down along the way. It may be an unhappy reality, because there's no guarantee that the Anthropocene-crowded with billions of human beings-will be as conducive to life as the past 12,000 years have been. "We are as gods," writes the environmentalist and futurist Stewart Brand, "And we have to get good at it."





BY HARRIET BAROVICK



It used to be that if you were looking for a place to retire, you found a warm community with shuffleboard

and golf and called it a day. But as America's 36 million baby boomers approach their sunset years, the generic retirement model is starting to give way to what developers are calling affinity housing—niche communities where choosy boomers can opt to grow old alongside others who share a specific interest.

Can't get enough Garth Brooks? A community planned by the Country Music Association in Franklin, Tenn., will offer music-industry netirees a range of living options, from standard apartments to nursinghome care, complete with recording studios and performance venues. Asian Americans who vearn for cultural immersion can move to Aegis Gardens in Fremont, Calif, which was designed under the watch of feng shui consultants and offers tal in classes. Then there's Fountaingrove Lodge, the U.S's first facility to offer long-term continuing care for gay and 8-sbian retirees. It broke ground last year in Santa Rosa, Calif, and is already 50% reserved.

In all, there are 100 communities in the U.S. that offer everything from standard housing to continuing care, which provides assisted living or skilled nursing to residents as required.

As the economy recovers, housing experts expect to see many more such communities. Driving the shift: developers' desire to attract boomers, who are likely to move when they retire and who control 70% of the wealth in the U.S. Applaying a role: evolving attitudes playing a role: evolving attitudes



toward retirement and the desire to remain active as long as possible.

Niche living is the latest step in the evolution of the planned retirement community, a notion that began in the 1960s and more recently expanded into so-called university-based retirement communities, like those located near Oberlin, Penn State and Dartmouth, where residents can take courses and attend sports events. A new community run by the not-for-profit developer Kendal will open this summer in Chicago with a variety of options for college learning; it's 80% full.

The main thing standing in the way is the economy, which continues to make real estate projects—particularly those without a long track record—risky. The country-music development, the Crescendo at Westhaven, is considering ways to scale back the project so t can

open sooner. These developments come with unique challenges too. Shortly before the grand opening of Aegis Gardens, Aegis Living's first Asian-American community. a consultant said the company had to change the color of staff uniforms from blue (a color of mourning in Chinese culture) to green (health and vitality) and overhaul the courtvard fountain, which had a five-pointed star at its base, "That was bad feng shui and would have offended many of the residents." says Aegis CEO Dwayne Clark. "So we ripped it up, cut the points off the star and learned a bunch in the process." A second community is under

Others are drawing up even grander plans, including a community intended to age with its residents. New York architect Matthias Hollwich hopes to open Boom in

construction near Seattle.

Palm Springs, Calif., by 2015. It will focus on what he calls new aging—with residents joining as early as age 40 and growing old together in a diverse community with healthy living choices and guaranteed medical care. Hollwich is targeting gays and lesbians for the first Boom to better focus the launch ("the GLBT community needs safe models for aging"), but his goal is to attract everyone.

Regardless of the pace of development, some observers say more affinity projects—in more varieties—are inevitable. "You're talking about the generation that created 12 different versions of Coca-Cola," says Andrew Carle, founding director of the program insenior housing administration at George Mason University, "They're not going to settle for one kind of retirement community."



Themed communities are taking aim at groups ranging from gay and Asian retirees to country-



#### She wants to be just like you, Mom.





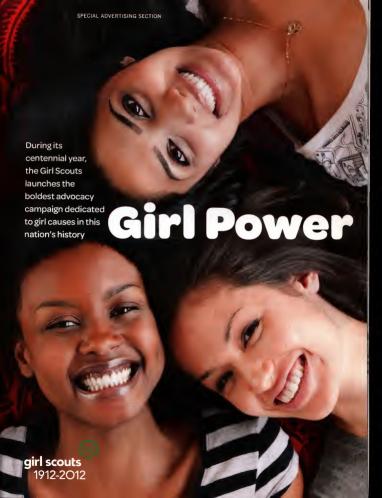
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The Girl Scouts of the United States (GSUSA) wants you. And your daughter. And your husband, brother or uncle. In fact, you don't even have to join them or wear a green sash, much less earn badges and sell cookies. All the organization is asking for as its 100th birthday present this year is that you pick a girl, any girl, in green or not, and support her hopes and dreams.

Why? Anna Maria Chávez, the CEO of SSUSA, doesn't sputter when asked why this is her organization's dearest wish, but she has every reason to. Self-image: 59% of gifs believe the fashion industry makes them feel fat. Self-confidence: Only on the girls believe they have what it takes to lead. Women at the top: Only 3.6% of CEOs of Fortune 500 companies are women, according to The White House Project Report and Cstalvist.

"There is a shortage of women in leadership roles, and it will take a lot of resources to address it. We have to advocate on behalf of girls. But we're not paying attention when it comes to girls. When you look at where philanthropic donations go, we give more to animal issues than girl issues," says Chávez.

That's why she has declared this year the Year of the Girl and unveiled a bold plan to raise \$1 billion to reach more girls. GSUSA has also launched a cause campaign called ToGetHerThere, with a goal that is both audacious and specific to narrow the leadership gap between

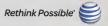
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Just one in five

girls believe they have what it takes to lead

SOLIBOR ROPER RESEARCH

men and women in a single generation.

Corporate America is also feeling a sense of urgency. "The more diversity we have among leaders, the better the range of ideas and answers that result. So it's important for women to achieve greater leadership, and it's really important for the economy," says Cathy Coughlin, the global marketing officer for AT&T and a former Girl Scout. Dove, a Unilever brand, is focusing on the power of role models in changing girls' futures while inspiring them to reach their full potential. "We believe that everyone has an opportunity to make a difference in a girl's selfesteem," says Rob Candelino, vice president, brand building, for Unilever's U.S. skin-care business.

But is Girl Scouts really the outfit to tackle this job in an era when iron-edged sharp elbows seem more useful than Pollvanna-ish personalities? Turns out GSUSA has a pretty spectacular track record at producing leaders. Sixty-nine percent of female U.S. Senators. 67% of female members of the House of Representatives and 80% of female business owners were Girl Scouts

GSUSA's secret sauce? Skill-building activities for earning badges that encompass three key features; hands-on experiential learning, girl-led choices and coonerative engagement. Eighteen-vear-old Vrinda Agarwal's trajectory as a Girl Scout illustrates the power of those experiences. After her family emigrated from India to Sacramento, Vrinda had a tough adjustment, and by second grade she had become extremely shy. She joined a Girl Scout troop because its activities involved "doing something fun, but at the end of a project they also gave back to the community" she recalls

Fast-forward to high school, when Vrinda felt moved by the plight of Bhutanese refugees in Sacramento, She decided helping them would be her Girl Scout Gold Award project, which is the top achievement in Girl Scouts. Before

#### The Incredible Journey

Since the first Girl Scout meeting in 1912, the national organization ranks have swelled to the millions, but its mission today remains the same: instill in girls the ideals of ethics, community service, leadership and independence



Country, constitution and bylaws



First Girl Scout Troops on Foreign Soil established in China Mexico, Saudi Arabia and Syria

The first time the Girl Scouts licensed commercially baked







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Helping girls reach their full leadership potential in one generation is now an urgent issue on the national agenda

she could embark, though, the GSUSA protocol required her to jump through a number of hoops, including shadowing a doctor and logging service hours in a field completely different from her project's focus. Finally, she created a club called R.E.S.P.E.C.T. at her high school, overcoming the initial resistance of the school's club manager. She recruited volunteers and a few trained professionals to teach weekend classes, such as Job Skills, Teen Issues and Intro to Biology, to approximately 25 refuges ages 10 to 25 during her sophomore and junior years.

The formerly timid girl also became a national level debater and is now a freshman at the University of California at Berkeley. "I do credit Girl Scouts," she says. "You go from participating in events like a volunteer autism walk to helping organize them and then leading these large-scale events. It developed skills that I did not know! I had within me."

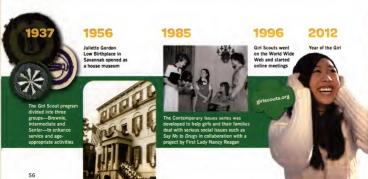
Despite such successes, after nearly 100 years, CSUSA's secret sauce for building leaders needed modernization. Seeing declining membership and recognizing that it competes with a host of activities available to girls today, the organization in 2004 began to take a hard look at its structure, its image and, most important, its effectiveness with girls. The result was a top-to-bottom revamping that marries its time-tested strentists to new programs.

In addition to visually updating its brand imagery and restructuring the regional councils that oversee membership activities, Châvez plans to dramatically grow the number of Girl Scouts from the current 2.3 million—or 8% of the country's girls 5 through 17—by broadening scouting's accessibility, Not there's an alternative to the traditional troop-member sepreince. In what is called the "series pathway," a

Junior Girl Scout in Phoenix, for example, might first participate in a six-week pre-Columbian art series and then attend a winter Girl Scouts camp, but then opt a trake the spring off so she can play on her school's lacrosse team. There are six new series, one of which is virtual. GSUSA also plans to achieve greater breadth by proactively venturing into communities where Girl Scouts have not been active, particularly targeting the fast-growing Hispanic population.

But GSUSA's hardest-hitting modifi-

But GSUSA's hardest-hitting modification goes straight to the heart of Girl Scout development: a full-bore overhaul of the badges girls can earn, as well as the way they work for them. There are 136 new badges, many of them geared to the annual cookie-selling program, an enterprise that raises \$760 million a year through the sale of 207 million boxes of cookies—the biggest entrepreneurial program in the country for girls.





TOGETHERTHERE.ORG

By eighth grade, only half as many girls as boys are interested in math, science, and engineering careers. If each of us gives a girl our time and support today, she can find the courage, confidence, and character she'll need to build a better tomorrow.

YEAR OF THE GIRL



Once primarily a fund-raising and community-building effort, the cookie program is now a finely tuned skill accelerator that teaches girls how to set goals, make decisions, manage money, interact with people and uphold business ethics. Every badge takes five steps to complete and ends with a scout stating three ways she might choose to deploy her new skill.

For a 5-year-old Daisy to win a Cookie Activity Pin, cookie season is all about the number of boxes she wants to sell. But five years later a Junior Girl Scout must take a 360-degree view of her cookie operation as a business, with a supplier, customers, products, revenue and profits, to earn a Cookie Business Badge. By the time a high schooler is a Senior Girl Scout, she might earn a Philanthropy Award by evaluring her troop's options for reinvesting profits into the community, considering how they might benefit a homeless shelter, for example, vs. a food pantly.

"When the glow of being a brand-new Girl Scout is over, you start to see life semege with bigger ideas. They go from 'I can't wait to sell Girl Scout cookies' to 'I want to sell because I want to learn how to meet people, how to make a telephone call and how to meat people, how to make a telephone call and how to make money," says Amanda Hamaker, manager of GSUSA's national product sales. In addition to writing business plans and planning their portfolio of investments for the cookie program, Girl Scouts are gaining financial literacy, an essential expertise for C-suite jobs, through innovative programs that, for example, take high school Girl Scouts through a real-life mortgage apolication process in order to understand their creditivethriness and

GSUSA's other large stake in the ground is that it's holding itself accountable for hatching leaders to a degree that wasn't possible before. Every Girl Scout, from a S-year-old Daisy to a 17-year-old Girl Scout Senior, now completes a "leadership iourney" requiring her to explore three components of leadership: self-discovery.

### AON S

Girl Scouts number nearly

3.2 MILLION

2.3 million girl members and 887,758 adult members and growing connecting with others and taking action to make the world a better place. GSUSA has identified 15 outcomes, or benefits, that it, its councils and volunteer leaders will use to measure its success in producing leaders.

voss in proucing readers.

So pick a girl—any girl—
and encourage her for something other than her looks.

Of course, Chávez will be
delighted if you want to do
this as a volunteer or troop
leader. But she knows the
problem is too big for any
one organization to solve
on its own, so she urgss
all adults to join her cause.
"Why are girls opting out
of bold, audadious roles?"
she asks. "We need them

around the table. I would sleep better if I knew we were bringing more minds to the table for solutions." 

O

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## The Culture

**98 POP CHART** Beck's specs / **100 BOOKS** Young dystopias **104 MOVIES** *The Lorax* / **106 SPORTS** Women boxers **112 FOOD** Juice mania! / **114 TUNED IN** Piling on Palin

Photograph by Peter Hapak for TIME

#### **Pop Chart**



ARRESTED EDITIO



BAD WEEK

#### Lucy Lawless

The Xena and Spartacus star was nabbed for her righteous protest on an oil-drilling ship.

#### Sean Young

The actress was placed under citizen's arrest after trying to enter an Oscars afterparty.



Fashion

#### Beckons

Like Bevoncé and Bleber before him. Beck has become the latest musician to make a foray into fashion, through his sunglasses collaboration with eyewear company Oliver Peoples. Inspired by Beck's frames from the '80s, the striped orange Double Helix shades also take inspiration from a vintage Italian pattern and cost a steep \$595.

Anartmen



SHU WINS The Pritzker Architecture Prize has gone for the first time to someone in China, Wang Shu, who hasn't designed anything abroad. His small firm has produced buildings that use scavenged construction materials—an antidote to the teardown mania in China?



#### Abandon Hope

Four years after his Obama Hope poster gained fame, artist Shepard Fairey is still in hot water. He settled out of court with the Associated Press, which claimed he improperly used its photo, and pleaded guilty to criminal contempt for fabricating evidence in the case.





the Lambs



EARNING TO FLY Bored on assignment last summer, photographer Rachel Hulin thought it would provide a fun distraction to naken son Henry fly. The picture from that first liftoff inspired an entire project. The magic happens in the subtraction—Hulin flotoshops out her hands. To see more of Hulin's word, a to liabilitostime.com.



#### TELEVISION Do the Urkel Dance

Notables like Gladys Knight and Gavin DeGraw are brush-Ing up on their chachas for Season 14 of Dancing with the Stars. But we're most excited to see Jaleel White, who played supernerd Steve Urkel on '90s sitcom Family Matters, Here's hoping his wardrobe features plenty of suspenders.



#### Same of Thrones, Season 1

gic fantaxy isn't the most startal choice for primeline TV, but this Int HBO when the thing the thing the thing IR.R. Martin best sellers, deamendy won a huge following last year. The bearded, the thing thing the thing the thing of the thing thing the thing the thing thing the thing the thing the first thing the thing the thing the first thing the thing the

ver. --- ISHAAN THAROOR



#### 3 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

#### 1. The cultural homogeneity of Sherlock Holmes. For some reason, actress Lucy Liu will portray Watson in a new CBS Holmes series.

2. SpongeBob SquarePants' long absence from our movie screens. Paramount will release a sequel to its 2004 film in 2014.

#### 3. The lack of awesomely absurd movie titles. Universal has acquired the rights to the comic Cowboy Ninja Viking.

FOR MORE POP-CULTURE COVERAGE, VISIT TIME'S ENTERTAINMENT WEBSITE, entertainment.time.com

#### Love Among the Ruins. How our awful future became the next big thing

By Lev Grossman

WHEN THE ENCLISH WRITER CHRISTOpher Samuel Youd died on Feb. 3 of this
year, he was better known to the public
by one of his many pseudonyms, John
Christopher. That was the name under
which he published his classic Tripod
trilogy: The White Mountains (1967). The
City of Gold and Lead (1968) and The Pool
of Fire dlast o 368). The original three
books were joined in 1988 by a prequel,
When the Tripod Scame, thereby adding
the Tripod series to the great tradition
of four-book trilogies.

The Tripod books are young-adult science fiction novels. They're set in the year 2100, at which time, I'm sorry to say, the world will be ruled by 60-ft-t-all three-legged machines from another planet. The Tripods—anatomical descendants of the less successful tripodal invaders in H.G. Wells' The War of the Worlds—have subjugated humanity and beaten us all the way back to a feudal society with medieval technology. To keep us there, the Tripods surgically bond metal mind-control caps to our skulls. The caps make us docile and easily controlled.

When I read the Tripod books as a 10-year-old, they stood out partly because Christopher's prose was so clear and elegant (and it holds up to this day) and partly because they were so extremely grim. I can still see and practically taste the toxic green air of the Tripods' domed cities, where a "perpetual green twilight" reigns. Rereading them now as an adult, I find they stand out for another reason: there are no girls in them.

O.K., there are girls in them. But hardy lay any, and they don't get cast in leading roles—the Tripods like to kidnap the pretty ones and take them back to their cities, where they're preserved like Sleeping Beauty, under glass. But the heroes, principally the hotheaded Will Parker, are all boys. There will be no love stories in the year 2200 it's all Tripod fighting, all the time.

The Tripod novels arrived at a tipping point for dystopian fiction. Up until then, novels of that kind tended to be for adults—Aldous Husley's Brane New World, George Orwell's 1984, Ray Bradbury's Fahrenheit 451. Walter M. Miller 18: A Canticle for Lichowire. But from the late 1960s on, books about mankind's miscrable future began to skew younger. Now young adult dystopian fiction is a flourishing industry in its own right. The Tripod novels were the shape of things to come.

Take the Hunger Games trilogy, by Suzanne Collins, which has sold over 26 million copies since the (excellent) first book came out in 2008, a movie version will be released on March 23. Like the Tripod books, the Hunger Games series is set in a devastated future world





where humanity is stuck with an oppressive regime, though in this case the oppressors are human too—a plutocratic bunch who lounge around in a cushy technopolis called the Capitol while the rest of humanity scratches out a living in 12 grim districts. Every year the ruling class holds a lottery for children ages 12 to 18, and the "winners" take part in a gladiatorial fight to the death. Our heroine, the lethal but still emotionally vulnerable Katniss, volunteers for the games to take her sister's place.

The Hunger Games is every bit as grim as the Tripod books, but it also tells us a lot about how the future, and the present, has changed since the 1960s. Now we have a great tradition of strong female characters in young-adult fiction thanks to writers like Madeleine L'Engle, Judy Blume and Anne McCaffrey, And along with coed dystopias comes, inevitably, romance: it's understood now that if you're fighting to save the human race. you're going to have to deal with a star-crossed crush at the same time. If the Trivod books were published today (they've been reissued with covers that make them look like novelizations of the boy's-own science-fiction cartoon Ben 10). Will Parker would fall for a tough fellow resistance member with a fetching pageboy haircut over her mindcontrol cap. Or better vet, a Tripod would crack open and disgorge a nubile, sufficiently humanoid alienne.

Since The Hunger Games was released, publishers have responded to its success with an extraordinary profusion of nightmarish future scenarios. Delirium, by Lauren Oliver, takes place in a world in which love is considered a disease and all people are given a treatment at 18 that "cures" them, whereupon the government assigns them a permanent loveless spouse. (The sequel, Pandemonium, came out Feb. 28.) In Veronica Roth's Divergent trilogy, which will get its second installment, Insurgent, in May, society is divided into factions, each one defined by a dominant character trait: Dauntless, Erudite, Abnegation, Candor, Amity. Once you reach 16, you have to choose one to belong to forever.

The apocalypse is also popular. Julianna Baggott's Pure is set on an earth devastated by a nuclear war. Humanity is split into the Pures, who made it into the Dome before the bombs fell, and the rest, who are scarred and ravaged. (A lot of the unfortunates outside the Dome are grotesquely melted and fused with animals or other people. Maybe I'm a heartless genetic snob, but Pure goes way over the creepiness line for me, In Dan Wells' Partials, the human species has been all but wiped out by a virus epidemic and a war with genetically engineered, demithuman beings.

What feeds the teenager's appetite for global destruction? We think of children and adolescents as being interested only in anodyne, escapist fiction-but that's to forget what it's actually like to be a teenager. When you're that age. everything feels like the end of the world: every test and snub and class and audition and prom. Adults have been around the block a few times. Whether it's because we have more perspective or we're just jaded, nothing is that big a deal to us. But you need to tear down the entire planet to match what goes on in a teenager's interior universe. The apocalypse is where they live.

For all the impressive technology on display there, the major innovation in your state-of-the-art dystopia is love. The Tripod books had no subplots, romantic

#### The Shape of Things to Come

PURE
Earth is divided
between those
who escaped the
bombs and those
who didn't

THE HUNGER
GAMES
Children are forced to take part in a gladiatorial fight with one survivor

PARTIALS

After a war with
the genetically
engineered, humans
fight a terrible plague

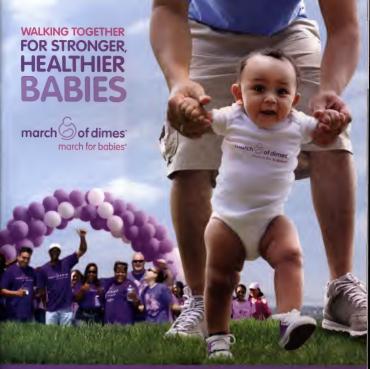
PANDEMONIUM Revolution grips a world in which people are "cured" of the ability to love INSURGENT Society's five factions, each based on a personality trait, are going to war



or otherwise, but the new trilogies have two narrative arrs each: the gray, dreary future isn't just a dire warning for the present; it's also the setting for romance. In The Hunger Games, Katnits spends all three volumes oscillating between two boys, the sweet baker Peeta and the angry but more conventionally manly Gale. The heroine of Delirium falls for Alex, a rebel boy who has managed to avoid being cured of low. And so on.

All these love stories are descended from the one in 1984—the alienated bureaucrat Winston Smith's passion for the beautiful Julia, a member of the terrifying Junior Anti-Sex League, But since then the focus has subtly changed, 1984 was a study of totalitarianism, and the love story of Winston and Julia was there in the service of that study, to show us the damage the state could do to individual lives. In the new dystopia, it's hard to tell whether the love story is there to tell us about the dystopia or if the entire ruination of humanity has occurred just to set up the hookup. As much as I enjoyed the book, I couldn't read Divergent as a serious warning to American society to avoid a faction-based political future at all costs. But that's not the point. The point is to create an interesting obstacle course for Tris and Four, the hero and heroine, to traverse. Our dystopian future is the backdrop to-and a metaphor for-the hideous gulf that separates any two teenagers in love. The personal is the political. Building on Plato, the state is the couple writ large.

That's not to say these books are trivial, not at all. The love stories in them feel real and complex and unbelievably urgent, the way love does when you're a teenager and, if you're lucky, as an adult too. It's so all-consuming that it blots out the sun. (One thinks of John Donne's "A Nocturnal upon St. Lucy's Day": "Oft a flood/ have we two wept. and so/ Drown'd the whole world." Get that man a book deal.) There's an unshakable conviction within every adolescent-including the adolescent who lurks inside every adult-that love. your particular love, is more important than anything else. Grownups, tired and iaded and mind-controlled beings that they are, will try to tell you otherwise, that it's not the end of the world, but don't trust them. They're just jealous. They only wish they could still remember what the end of the world felt like.





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### A Parable for the 99%. The Occu-toddlers should love the new *Dr. Seuss' The Lorax*

**By Richard Corliss** 

HERE'S AN INNOCENT 3-D MOVIE FOR the kidds a 12-year-oid boy ventures to a remote wasteland where he hopes to find he last of the magical Turfuful at Trees. The Larax, from the animation studio that made Despicable Mr, is based on the 1971 book by Theodor Geisel, a.k.a. Dr. Seuss, whose rhyming fables have delighted several generations of children and inspired the classic TV specials (and more recent hit movies) How the Grinch Stole Christmas and Horton Hearts ar Who! Sweetest of all, The Lorax opens on March 2, the 108th anniversary of Geisel's birth.

Not so fast, naive parents. In a prickly political environment that finds coded subversion in halftime Super Bowl commercials, a literally tree-hugging tale like The Jorax is bound to get up some commentator's nose. "Hollywood is once again trying to indoctrinate our children," thundered Lou Dobbs on the Fox Business Network. One of Dobbs' guests, radio spieler Matt Patrick, accused The Lorax of "creating Occu-toddlers" and urged parents going to the movie to fight back. "Buy, like, huge tubs of popcorn... Then you crinkle it all up, you throw it on the floor, and

you walk out... You fight back against this message." Yes, a grand idea: Give money to the company that produced The Lorax and the multiplex chains that sell junk food, then let the underpaid theater attendants clean up your mess.

Geisel, we're guessing, would be pleased by the ruckus. From his days editing the Dartmouth humor magazine Jack-O-Lantern, which he said was written "only for the extreme left wing of college student, for the man of social perversity." through his prewar tenure at the Manhattan newspaper PM, where he drew ostrich cartoons of the isolation ist Charles Lindbergh, Geisel was a staunch liberal, never shying from a righteous fight. In the Army, he scripted the Private SNAFU animated shorts, sassy instructional satires depicting a lazy GI who does everything wrong. After the war, he and his wife Helen Palmer wrote Design for Death, an Oscar-winning documentary about Japan's military culture.

The Seuss books, with their compact vocabularies, impish illustrations, anapestic rhymed wit and age-spanning wonder,

were meant to educate and enchant preschoolers, not turn them into baby pinkos. But Geisel occasionally infused social undertones into his tales. The Butter Battle Book, in 1984, alerted wee ones to the Cold War's nuclear stockpiles. While The Lorax had a gentler tone—int didn't fullminate; it fretted—the story painted a harsh landscape of sylvan nature ravaged by industrial greed. Dobbs might call it Greenpeace for kids.

The movie version, directed by Chris Renaud and Kyle Balda, expands Geisel's 1,800-word fable by adding a love story. In Thneed-Ville, a town stripped of nature and run by the scheming onepercenter Mayor O'Hare (Rob Riggle). young Ted (voiced by Zac Efron) hopes to win the heart of pretty Audrey (Taylor Swift) by locating the mysterious Once-ler (Ed Helms) and learning the secret of the Truffula Trees and their gruff guardian, the Lorax (Danny DeVito). Once the Once-ler was a young man with a plan; chopping down trees to manufacture his Thneeds-sort of allpurpose Snuggies-and chirping, "I'm just buildin' the economy," as if he were not a nature hater but a job creator. Soon the forest was denuded, and the company whose motto was too BIG TO FAIL did. Now, he tells Ted, there is not a Truffula left, and the forest's splendor is only a memory. Unless ...

With Audrey Geisel, the author's second wife and widow, serving as executive producer and benevolent overseer, this Lorax is cheerfully faithful to its source. (The young oughe are given the Geisels' first names.) The title character, who resembles an elifn Wilford Brinley, has a new evil twin in the tiny, nasty mayor a crabby shrimp. The filmmaker festoon the old forest with a genial riot of pastels, but even the synthetic Theed Ville is a chromatic wonderland; the whole film is like an iec cream come ready for licking.

Dramatically, the movie barely rises above the generic. It lacks the spark and poignancy of the 2008 Horton Hears a Who! But kids should have a ball occupying the new Lorax. And, parents, as you

leave the auditorium, please deposit all popcorn boxes in the appropriate receptacles. Ted Geisel would thank you.



#### WE'VE GOT CINNAMON BY THE SPOONFUL.

Try all new **Kellogg's Raisin Bran\* Cinnamon Almond.** The taste you love, now with the deliciousness of cinnamon and almonds.

#### **Sports**

#### **The New Olympic Ring**

#### Men have boxed at the Games for more than a century. Now women are getting their turn

By Katherine Dunn

BOXING HAS ALWAYS BEEN AN OLYMFIC SPORT. THE ancient Greeks wrapped their fists in leather strips in the 7th century B.C. In the modern Games, gold medals have launched the sport's greatest figures: Muhammad Ali, Joe Frazier, George Foreman and Oscar De La Hoya all made their first appearances on the world stage with a victory in the Olympic.

This summer in London, the Games of the XXX Olympiad will present a historic debut. For the first time, female boxers will compete. It's been 19 years since a teenage girl named Dallas Malloy went to U.S. federal court to win women the right to participate in amateur boxing. Now Americans are punching their way toward the first U.S. Olympic women's boxing team, Just getting to London will be a tough fight. For these boxers, these Olympics are a limited test run. Only 36 women will be allowed to compete in three weight divisions: flyweight (17.21-bl. limit), lightweight (13.3 lb.) and middleweight (16.5 lb.). Meanwhile, some 290 men will box in no weight classes.

Men's Olympic bouts last for three 3-min. rounds. The women's are four rounds of 2 min. each. Debate flared when AlBA, the international organization governing amateur boxing, suggested women might be required to wear short skirts rather than trunks to make it easier to distinguish them from male boxers. After an uproar, AIBA agreed that boxers may wear trunks or skirts.

The three champions of the U.S. Olympic women's boxing trials in February near Spokane, Wash., each had to win four bouts. They are fighting for a chance to make history.

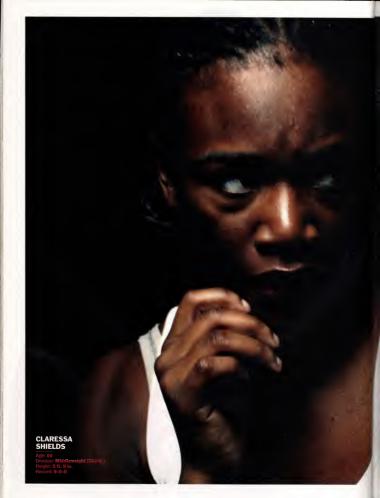
In May the three will fly to China to compete in the world championships. The top eight finishers in each weight class will go to the London Games Flyweight Marlen Esparza, 22, grew up watching boxing with her father. She was student-body president of her Pasadena, Texas, high school and graduated in the top 2% of her class, but she put college on hold to pursue this Olympic opportunity. Esparza has boxed for 10 years and has been the U.S. national champion every year since 2006. She was a bronze medalist at the 2006 world championships. At the trials, Esparza demonstrated her sharp and fleet-footed style with blinding hand speed and poised control.

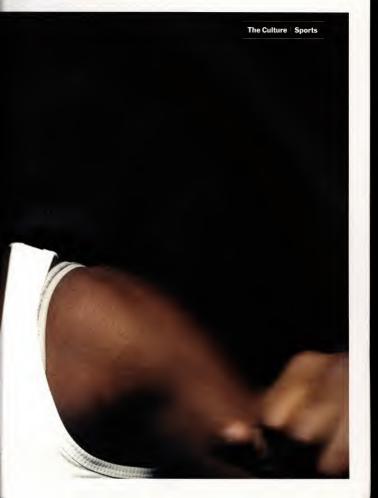
Queen Underwood of Seattle is a violist who played in an orchestra for years. She loves the attention of the crowd when she boxes. "Queen can hurt you," U.S. coach joe Zanders has said of the 2-y-ear-old lightweight, who has been boxing for nine years. "She has a nice smile, but she will get after you." Underwood is an aggressive and dangerous power puncher with crisp delivery, enormous stamina and implacable calm. She was a bronze medalist at the world championships in 2010 and has been a U.S. national champion every year since 2007.

Middleweight Claresas Shields started boxing six years ago after her father told her the story of Muhammad All's daughter Laila, who became a professional. Shields, a high school Junior, is a two-time Junior Olympic champion and the zour National PAL Champion. Olympic competitors must be at least 17, and Shields will turn 17 in March. She has wowed coaches with her extreme hand speed, well-schooled defense and counterpunching but most of all with her fiery attack strategy and ferocious barrage of heavy punches. On Feb. 18 she danced with joy at winning her weight division. The next day she was beak at school in Flint, Mich.

In May the three will fly to Qinhuangdao, China, to compete in the 1-day world championships. The top eight finishers in each weight class will go to the London Games. An international committee will choose 12 additional boxers, four in each weight class, so each division will have 12 contenders. The women of nations from Poland to Afghanistan, from Mexico to South Korea, are in the gyms, preparing. And Esparza, Underwood and Shields are training hard.











## **Food**

# Big Gulp. Juice fasting makes you feel healthy, even if it isn't

By Josh Ozersky

what is the Opposite of a bacon cheesesteak? It's a question the remorseful and the portly have asked themselves for years, usually around the time they finish the last bite. The answer to many Americans these days seems to be a big, bitter glass of raw-vegetable juice. And then another. And then another.

It's unclear whether juice cleansing will go down as a fad, like the macrobiotic regimens of the '70s or the Atkins mania of the early aughts, but the trend shows no sign of slowing. At any given moment, half of Hollywood seems to be on a juice fast, Meredith Vieira just finished her first one. Fashion blogs were recently abuzz with the news that designer Jason Wu ate a cookie during his monthlong cleanse. At least five new juice-centric diet books have hit the market since early December, including nutritionist Cherie Calbom's latest ode to juicing, The Juice Lady's Weekend Weight-Loss Diet, and Jason Manheim's The Healthy Green Drink Diet.

Even Starbucks is positioning itself to cash in on the next great beverage craze. After buying high-end juicemaker Evolution Fresh in November for \$30 million, the Frappuccino purveyor plans to open its first juice bar this spring and build a national chain. And it's doing this at a time when you can't go near a fresh juice without being promised some form of frutal purification—or, as Evolution labeled its sweet-greens-and-lemon blend, a Daily Detox.

The basic idea behind a juice cleanse is seductively simple: Our bodies are

My wife approached it as a challenge, like Bikram yoga or a half-marathon, two other things I would never want to do

walking Superfund sites, desperately in need of purging. And what could be purer than unadulterated fruit and vegetable juices? So for some set period, that's all you consume. The natural qualities of the juices help various organs expunge these impurities, resulting in a lighter, happier, healthier you. 'What's healthier than fresh juice?" asks Zoe Sakoutis, founder of BluePrint-Cleanse, a New York City-based company that is part of the \$1.6 billion superpremium-juice market that Starbucks is muscling into. BluePrint says it has more than 50,000 customers paying \$65 for a daily array of six kinds of fresh juices. Rival Organic Avenue reported \$10 million in sales in 2010. Michelle Hall of San Francisco's Living Greens.

The Culture

which supplements its cleanse regimens with potassium broth (yum!), acknowl-

edges there might be some criticism from experts. But in her experience,

"when we juice, we feel better, we look

we just live better."

better, we eat and sleep better and overall

The only problem is that there is al-

anything other than innocuous, and the

most no medical evidence that juice is



universal opinion of modern medicine is that your liver and kidneys are, when functioning, quite efficient at detoxification. Plus, the weight that comes off so easily during a juice fast tends to be water—the kind of weight you gain back fier a single meatball sandwich. When you stop eating or severely cut your calorientake, your cells burn glyogen, a kind of semiliquid energy reserve. When it goes, so does the water in your body, but both are quickly replenished when you both are quickly replenished when you start consuming things other than juices.

"There have been no clinical studies that validate their cleansing properties." Dr. Leonard Bielory, an allergy specialist at Rutgers University, told me. "Drinking only juice for three days or more doesn't do much but put the individual in an uncomfortable position." Uncomfortable tends to mean irritability, headaches and frequent trips to the bathroom. Dr. Bennett Roth, chief of gastroenterology at UCLA Medical Center, is crystal clear on one thing about juice cleansing. "The concent has no basis in scientific summor."

Despite, or perhaps because of, the medical community's overwhelming lack of enthusiasm, juice fasts have many defenders, including Gwyneth Paltrow (whose lifestyle site, Goop.com, co-branded a 21-day cleanse in January), Sarah Jessica Parker (a BluePrint fan) and Salma Havek (who co-founded a line of juices called Cooler Cleanse). The pro-juice community even has a big-name physician on its side. Dr. Mehmet Oz recommends going on juice fasts for a couple of days but, he warns, "not longer." A few months ago, he even posted a recipe for a 48-hour cleanse on his TV show's website. The idea is to give your digestive tract a break and focus your mind on healthier eating.

"I do it when I begin to feel gross," says Naomi Pomeroy, Food & Wine's best new chef of 2009, whose Portland, Ore., restaurant Beast specializes in rich, meat-centric food. "It heightens my sense of smell and taste, and I have much more energy." The heard the same things from many other juice fanatics. And so, despite a bone-deep skepticism toward the process, I decided to go on a three-day juice fast myself, and I made my wife Danit—a petite person who eats so healthly, she won't consume

# Sipper Club. Popular, proprietary juice blends aren't cheap

|                      | COST FOR<br>ONE DAY* | CELEBRITY                        |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| BLUEPRINT<br>CLEANSE | \$65                 | Sarah Jessica<br>Parker is a fan |
| ORGANIC<br>AVENUE    | \$83                 | Gwyneth Paltrow<br>loves OA      |
| COOLER               | \$58                 | Salma Hayek is<br>a co-founder   |

"AS PART OF A THREE-DAY REGIMEN

chicken skin-go through it with me. BluePrint sent us two sample cleanses. and on Day One I was unhappy. The juices varied from awful to delicious and gave me all the energy I needed, but in my addled state, everything smelled like pizza. Danit, meanwhile, was positively buoyant. By Day Three, I felt more energetic, though it may have just been wrath. I didn't experience the total euphoria, or "starvation high," that anorexics talk about, because unlike the super-low-cal Master Cleanse, my juices were giving me more than 1,000 nutritious calories a day. about the same as some nonliquid diets. I lost 6 lb. (2.7 kg) during those three days. but it was a bitter victory because Danit didn't even bother weighing herself when it was over. To her, that wasn't the point.

I realized the next morning (over coffee and an egg-and-cheese sandwich) that I had learned one of the central truths about juice cleansing. I had treated the cleanse like a burden, something to be endured; my wife had approached it as a challenge. like Bikram yoga or a half-marathon, two other things I would never want to do. Self-denial and ritual purification are in short supply in our secular age. The juices look and taste clean, and they make the people who drink them feel clean too. From their sleek bottles to the radiant complexions of the stars who endorse them, they seem to promise release from the prison of our clogged, earthbound and less-than-ideal bodies. As with so many things, a lot of it hinges on the packaging. "We don't make any claims," BluePrint's Sakoutis says, "It's just juice."

TO READ JOSH OZERSKY'S WEEKLY FOOD COLUMN, GO TO time.com/ozersky

### **Tuned In**



# **Shiny Object. HBO's Game Change** lampoons **Sarah Palin**—to a fault

By James Poniewozik

AFTER THE 1988 ELECTION, SATURDAY NIght Live aired a sketch in which George H.W. Bush ran one last negative ad against Michael Dukakis, Repeating every attack against Bush's vanquished opponent (Taxes! Flag burning! Willie Horton), it closed, "On Nov. 8, you dodged a bullet. Bush—he beat a bad man."

HBO'S Game Change (March 10) feels like the calabe TV version of that ad. If you think America dodged a bullet when Sarah Palin (ullianne Moore) lost the vice presidency, this movie is happy to agree. If you love the former Alaska governor, you will hate the film with the fire of a midnight sun. But even to this non-Palin supporter, it all feels like piling on—the campaign movie as blooner red.

Disclosure: Game Change is based on the election narative of the same name by TiMF's Mark Halperin and New York magazine's John Heilemann—but only the quarter or so of the book that deals with the McCain-Palin campaign. Gereenwriter Damy Strong also drew on other accounts and interviews.) Barack Obama appears here only as a distant figure in front of massive crowds—after the proof of the proo

of McCain HQ, a looming avalanche.
As the movie opens, in summer 2008,
strategist Steve Schmidt (Woody Harrelson) lays it out for John McCain (Ed
Harris). He needs a "game changing"
vice-presidential pick—that is, a woman.
After discarding some big names, the
campaign finds Palin, a pro-life, pro-gun
up and comer to gladden the GOP base,
which is skeptical of McCain. Following a
whirlf with the searches and a prace.
McCain signs off on the "high risk, high
reward" gamble.

The rest is recent history. Palin thrills the convention crowd with a zinger-filled speech, and Schmidt has the celebrity he wanted: a political natural, happy culture warrior and populist pit bull-hockey

Its relentless theme is simply, Holy cow! Can you believe this woman was almost Vice President? mom. For all practical purposes, it is now the Palin-McCain campaign. But the campaign staff's delight turns to concern, then horror, as it becomes clear that their new No. 2 has political baggage, resists taking direction and doesn't know the difference between North and South Korea.

Moore gets Palin down to the smallest detail: the accent (Here's the dill"), the wink, the feistiness. But Game Change shows us Palin entirely from the outside, giving no sense of her motivations or her core. It's essentially an extended SNL performance, which makes for a moment of high meta when we see Moore as Palin watching Tina Pey as Palin.

It's an unflattering portrayal but not wholly unadmiring or unsy mpathetic. A few early scenes show Palinis intensely personal connection with followers. "She talks to me," says a teary woman on a rope line. "And nobody talks to me." The movie gives a sense of the terrible loneliness of Palin's experience as the campaign drags on. Depressed, mocked and sequestered, she seems less Team McCain's start han its prisoner.

But the narrative becomes bludgeoning. Game/Change car't resist a single excruciating interview, embarrassing gaffe or behind-the-scenes meltdown. An extended debate-prep scene in which Palim mangles Joe Biden's surname as 'O'Biden' becomes a kind of 'Who's on First?' routine. The movie even suggests she's mentally unbalanced.

There are several interesting themes it could have explored. What is it like to run a campaign you know will most likely lose: Do you go down on principle or do any-thing to win? When politics becomes all about a candidate's ability to "change the narrative," what sort of leaders do you get? And just what buttons does Palin push—of gender, class, politics—that inspire both cestatic devotion and belittling scorn?

Game Change flicks at these questions, but its true, relentless theme is simply, Holy cow! Can you believe this woman was almost Vice President? Just Jook at her! Game Change, like the McCain campaign, finds that once Palin gets onstage, see sucks up all the oxygen and the story becomes all about her—narrowly, blindingly personal. In movies as in politics, it turns out, celebrity trumps all.

### Joel Stein



#### **Alarm Will Sound**

My foray into the brave new world of high-tech home surveillance

HAYE NEVER OWNED ANYTHING WORTH stealing. When I was in college, my car was so full of useless crap that I spent two weeks wondering why I'd put an unfolded metal hanger on my passenger seat before I realized someone had used it to unlock my door and swipe my broken radar detector and Bruce Hornsby CDs. My lovely wife Cassandra, however, has lots of stuff worth stealing. Though I suspect that very few thives are 5 ft. oni., size 6 women with boho chic taste. I'd say we are set until hard times fall on Sienna Miller.

Nevertheless, Cassandra has been arguing that we should install a home alarm system since we moved to L.A. six years ago. Growing up, her family ddin't have an alarm because she lived in a small town without any crime. My family had an alarm because we lived in a huge suburb without any crime. And the alarm bummed me out. Not only was it a daily reminder that we believed people weren't to be trusted, but the only people it ever scared was us. About ever two weeks.

But once I realized that whenever I went on a business trip. Cassandra put a serrated knife under her pillow—I'm guessing so that she could foil intruders by slicing bages and throwing them at them—I folded. We got an ADT system that made her very happy. I retised to learn how to use it, but at least I now had the peace of mind that came with knowing she wouldn't wake up in the middle of the night with a row of small symmetrical cuts on her cheek.

Then recently, on the path we hike a few times a week, just blocks from our house, a woman found a severed human head. And some guy set fire to 55 cars and homes in our neighborhood. And my editor at TIME left this voice mail: "Call me right away. Don't worry, you're not in trouble." It turned out that people on an

al-Qaeda website mentioned me—along with Bill Gates, Henry Kissinger and Rupert Murdoch—in a discussion about people they'd like to assassinate. I'd hate to know what my editor's idea of trouble is.

Cassandra wanted more security. Especially because when the alarm we already had went off at night, I didn't react all that well, in that I kept sleeping. Eventually Cassandra had to wake me up. "You just mumbled and put on a robe and walked upstairs," she told me afterward. "Most guys would have jumped out of bed, said, "Babe, you stay here' and grabbed a baseball bat." I am pretty sure Cassandra is more attracted to ADT than he is to me.

So I decided to take the advice of Robert Siciliano, a security consultant who works with companies such as ADT and McAfee and who had sent me an i rate e-mail after reading my column about how I use the same password for all my websites. He suggested I get ADT Pulse a new system that, because of the falling price of technology, allows homeowners to run their homes like Gitmo. He's got eight camera so utils dei house and seven



inside recording 24 hours a day; he watches them live from his desk like he's Tow Montana. When I told him I thought his surveillance was a little extreme, he said, "Dude, I would love, love, love to be you. I'd love to have no idea what's going on." Sure, the odds of home invasion are low, but so are those of getting injured in a caracident, and yet! Wear a seat belt. Getting an alarm, writing a will and buying life insurance are ways of acknowledging the ugly parts of life and taking responsibility for them, he said. I found his to be an awdt usales technique.

Still, lagreed to get the Pulse system. "You'd be an asshole if you didn't," Siciliano said. "If you got whacked, then what? Your wife would probably marry someone richer than you. But what about until then?" I wanted cameras around my house just to keep this sweet talker away from Cassandra.

Over three days, ADT workers installed cameras, adjust video recorder, sensors, smoke a larms, carbon monoxide detectors, smoke a larms, carbon monoxide detectors, a router, a monitor and a new thermostat. Now I can watch the outside of my house on my computer, iPad or phone. There is never anything going on, but iI watch anyway, which makes mefeel as if I work at the world's most poorly located - Fleven. I can even use an app to turn on the alarm, switch off lights and change the temperature when I'm away on a business trip. Cassandra hash figured out that I'm going to be scaring her all the time this way. After a few weeks. I don't feel as mara-

noid as l'd feared. I wish the world were different, but if we're all going to be watched and tracked all the time, it feels a tiny bit empowering to be doing some of the watching and tracking. Though it would feel a lot more empowering if I could figure out how to use Craigslist to persuade hot couples to have sex in front of my garage.

Cassandra loves the system and feels like I care about her more. "I feel protected. I can sleep better," she said. Then she added, "I'm thinking about buying a gun." For my safety, I'm thinking about sleeping outside.



Gaga, who is often seer with a teacup, says tea makes her feel grounded because as a kid she drank it with her mother every day

Pop icon, singer and now philanthropist Lady Gaga on her mom, kindness and going to Harvard

#### You just launched the Born This Way Foundation. Is it aimed at preventing bullving?

This is not an antibullying foundation. This is a youth-empowerment foundation. This is about combatting meanness and cruelty. This is about inspiring bravery in young people and their parents and culture worldwide to work toward a kinder and more accepting society.

#### Isn't inspiring kindness the same thing as combatting bullying?

We do not make a distinction between the bully and the victim. Each person is an equally important and valuable member of society. What the foundation is about is a transformative change that is going to take a long time to affect the overall culture. Bullies were born this way too.

#### You have enormous cultural capital. Why use it on this issue? Many people think that be-

cause I was bullied in school, that was the inspiration behind wanting to deal with this issue. But actually, once I put the Born This Way album out, I noticed a tremendous desire among fans to become braver and more active members of society.

How would, say, an 11-year-old girl live out your idea? She could go up to one person in class who maybe is not one of the cool kids and say, "I really like your T-shirt." That would be her one great loving and accepting deed for the day.

#### The song "Born This Way" has some religious overtones. Does this foundation come from a set of heliefs?

No. Some of the religious implications are meant to be sort of double entendre and irony.

You said in 2008 that you write about what you know: "sex, pornography, art, fame, obsession, drugs and alcohol." How do you balance that with how you're talking to teems today?
When did I say that?

hen did I say that

### In 2008.

That's a long time ago. Different album. My work as an artist is completely separate from my work as a philanthropist.

One of the hallmarks of everything you've done is your nerve. Is this courage born of feeling rarely accepted or is it born of saying, "I know what it's like to not feel accepted, and I can deal with it?" In fact, my courage and my bravery at a young age was the thing I was pulled for a kind

thing I was bullied for, a kind of "Who do you think you are?" This is not coming from a place of "I'm a popular kid. Let's all be brave." If anything, there's a sort of stigma around doing good deeds that's maybe not so cool. I'm doing everything that I can, working with experts, really studying the statistics to figure out a

> way we can make it cool or normal to be kind and loving.

Maintaining the Lady Gaga persona must take so much of your energy. How do you find the bandwidth to take on yet

another big thing? My mother. My mom and I are very close. One of the things I hope to impress upon everyone is that all it takes is just one person to helieve in you.

You're partnering with, among others, Harvard University on this. In an alternate Lady Gaga universe, would you have liked to have gone to Harvard?

I don't know. I am going to Harvard today. So that'll do.

If you think people should be themselves, why do you have the elaborate costumes that seem so much like a disguise?

Well, this is myself. How else would I maintain it every day? It may be precived that my creativity is something I have to work on, when that's probably the most natural part of me. I think we should try not to be cymical about the individuality of others. Perhaps instead of a disguise, people should see it as an expression.—BRLINDA LUSCOMBE

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QUESTIONS INTERVIEWS,
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